

**CURIOUS ARTICLES**  
**FROM THE**  
**GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.**

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***VOL. II.***



A  
SELECTION

OF  
CURIOUS ARTICLES

FROM THE

*Gentleman's Magazine.*

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BY

JOHN WALKER, LL.B.

FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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VOL. II.

I. ANCIENT AND MODERN LITERATURE, CRITICISM, AND  
PHILOLOGY.

II. PHILOSOPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY.

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OF THE

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ANCIENT AND MODERN  
LITERATURE,  
CRITICISM, AND PHILOLOGY.

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I. On the Acta Diurna of the Old Romans.

*Sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt; dum intelligatur, quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse brevitatem; non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt.*  
Cic. de Orat. Lib. 2. C. 12.

AS we are apt to look, either with an eye of contempt or surprize, on the customs of other nations, which differ from our own, so we cannot help being pleased with any, which bear some degree of resemblance to those of our country. The pleasure seems to be stronger, the further we carry our views back into ancient times, and observe this analogy of fashions; whether the veneration usually paid to antiquity itself, heightens the satisfaction; or whether we regard it as the voice of nature pronouncing such a custom rational and useful by the consent of distant ages. To apply this general remark to a particular instance; every body must allow that our newspapers, and the other collections of intelligence periodically published, by the materials they afford for discourse and speculation, contribute very much to the emolument of society; their cheapness brings them into universal use; their variety adapts them to every one's taste: the scholar instructs himself with advice from the literary world; the soldier makes a campaign in safety, and censures the conduct of generals without fear of being punished for mutiny; the politician, inspired by the fumes of the coffee-pot, unravels the knotty intrigues of ministers; the industrious merchant observes the course of trade and navigation; and the honest shopkeeper nods over the account of a robbery and the prices of goods till his pipe is out. One may easily imagine, that the use and amusement resulting from these diurnal histories render it a custom, not

likely to be confined to one part of the globe, or one period of time. The relations of China mention a gazette published there by authority, and the Roman historians sometimes quote the *Acta Diurna*, or Daily Advertisers of that empire. It will serve to illustrate the thought at the beginning, by shewing the analogy of customs, and besides furnish a good authority for the readers of newspapers, who may for the future appeal to the practice of the old Romans, if I enter into a little critical essay upon the nature of the writings last mentioned.

The *Acta Diurna* were journals\* of the common occurrences of Rome, as the trials, elections, punishments, buildings, deaths, sacrifices, prodigies, &c. composed under the direction of the magistrates, committed to their care, and laid up with the rest of their records in an edifice, called the Hall of Liberty. They were, like all other public papers, easily gained access to. The historians† appear to have collected materials from them; nor is it improbable, that copies were frequently taken by particular persons, and dispersed about the city, or sent to their friends in the provinces, that no Roman might be ignorant even of the minutest event which happened in the metropolis of the world.

We may find some ground for this supposition in the correspondence between Cicero and Cælius, whilst the former was governor of Cilicia. Cælius‡ had promised to send him the news of Rome, and in order to discharge his commission with exactness, and gratify the curiosity of his friend, incloses in his first letter a kind of journal of the occurrences of the city. Tully, it appears, would have made a bad figure in a modern coffee-house conversation, for he rallies Cælius about it very humourously in his answer; “Do you think,” says he, “that I left it in charge with you to send an account of the matches of gladiators, the adjournments of the courts, and such like articles, which even when I am at Rome, nobody ventures to tell me? From you I expect a political sketch of the commonwealth, and not Chrestus’s newspaper.” Suetonius likewise mentions a little particularity with regard to these *Acta Diurna*, which may serve to confirm the notion of their bearing a pretty near resemblance to our newspapers. He says, that J. Cæsar|| in his consulship ordered the diurnal acts of the senate and the people

\* Vide Justi Lipsii Exercitus in Tacitum Ed. Var. v. 1. p. 743.

† Suet. in Cæs. c. 20. in vita Tib. c. 5. et alias. Tac. L. 13. Suet. in Cal. C. 9.

‡ “Fient ista palam, cupiunt et in acta referri.” *Juv. Sat. 2. l. 136.*

† L. 8. Ep. 1. L. 2. Ep. 8.

|| Vit. Jul. Cæs.

to be published. Augustus, indeed, the same author\* observes, forbid the publication of the former to be continued, but there is no reason to think his prohibition extended to the latter. It is certainly suitable to the genius of an absolute monarchy, that its counsels should not be publicly known; but the amusing and trifling topics for discourse, which the common events of a great city afford, are so far from being offensive under such a constitution, that they rather serve to draw off the minds of the people from inquiring into affairs of a more important and secret nature. The antiquaries pretend to have discovered some of these papers: those, which relate to the 585th year of Rome, were first published by Pighius† in his annals. He tells us that they were given him by James Susius, who found them amongst the papers of Ludovicus Vives. He does not seem to doubt in the least of their being genuine, and even makes use of them to correct a passage in Livy. Dodwell‡ inserted them in his Camdenian lectures, together with some additional acta of the year of Rome 691. A friend of his, Hadrian Beverland, had received them from Isaac Vossius, who transcribed them from a parcel of inscriptions, which Petavius had prepared for the press. I shall now communicate to my readers some extracts from the papers themselves,

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\* Aug. C. 36. 'Primum omnium instituit, ut tam senatus quam populi diuina acta concicerentur et publicarentur.' These words of Suetonius imply further, that Julius Cæsar was the first who ordered the acts of the senate and people to be drawn up as well as published; and this is one reason amongst others, why some men of learning have suspected the genuineness of these remains of the Acta. But perhaps the force of Suetonius's assertion may be taken off, if we consider that a numerous, grave, and regular body; like the Roman senate, could not possibly carry on the variety of business with dispatch or convenience, unless some registers of their proceedings were taken, which might be referred to, and examined upon occasion. Besides, I think it may be clearly collected from the following passage in one of Tully's Orations, that there were some such registers in being long before the time of Cæsar's consulship.—'Quid deinde? quid feci? cum scirem ita indicium in tabulis publicis relatum, ut æ tabula privata tamen custodia continerentur; non continui domi, sed dividi passim,' &c. pro Sull. c. 15. Now, as we may reasonably suppose Suetonius less accurate in his assertion with regard to the Acta Senatus, why may not we also suspect his accuracy in the other instance of the Acta Diurna, especially if we consider that the 'tabulæ publicæ' may include both, and that the Roman historians were very careless in consulting their records, and searching after them? I will lengthen this note no further than by just mentioning that Mr. Wesseling, a German professor, has attacked these Acta Diurna with a good deal of learning and ingenuity. I should make this essay more tedious than it is already, by entering into the controversy, and therefore choose to refer the reader to the book itself.

† Vol. 2.

‡ App. 665 and 690.

observing only, that the names of Paulus Æmilius the conqueror of Macedon, Popilius Lenas the famous ambassador, Julius Cæsar, Cicero, and Hortensius, give an air of importance to the most trifling circumstances, which occasion their being mentioned. I purposely keep pretty close to the originals, that the form and manner of drawing them up, may be the better preserved.

“A. U. C. *i. e.* from the building of Rome, 585.  
5th of the Kalends of April.

The Fasces with Æmilius the consul.

The consul, crowned with laurel, sacrificed at the temple of Apollo. The senate assembled at the Curia Hostilia about the 8th hour; and a decree passed, that the prætors should give sentence according to the edicts, which were of perpetual validity. This day M. Scapula was accused of an act of violence before C. Bæbius the prætor; 15 of the judges were for condemning him, and 33 for adjourning the cause.

4th of the Kal. of April.

The Fasces with Licinius the consul.

It thundered, and an oak was struck with lightning on that part of Mount Palatine called Summa Velia, early in the afternoon. A fray happened in a tavern at the lower end of the Banker's Street,\* in which the keeper of the Hog-in-Armour tavern, was dangerously wounded. Tertinius, the Ædile, fined the butchers for selling meat which had not been inspected by the overseers of the markets. The fine is to be employed in building a chapel to the temple of the goddess Tellus.

3d of the Kal. of April. The Fasces with Æmilius.

It rained stones on Mount Veintine. Posthumius, the tribune, sent his beadle to the consul, because he was unwilling to convene the senate on that day; but the tribune Decimus putting in his veto, the affair went no further.

Pridie Kal. Aprilis. The Fasces with Licinius.

The Latin festivals were celebrated, a sacrifice performed on the Alban Mount, and a dole of raw flesh distributed to the people. A fire happened on Mount Cælius; two *trifulæ*† and five houses were consumed to the ground, and four

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\* Called Janus Infimus, because there was in that part of the street a statue of Janus, as the upper end was called Janus Summus, for the same reason.

† Houses standing out by themselves, and not joined to the rest of the street. Most of the great men's houses at Rome were built after this manner.

damaged. Demiphon, the famous pirate, who was taken by Licinius Nerva, a provincial lieutenant, was crucified. The red standard was displayed at the capitol, and the consuls obliged the youth who were enlisted for the Macedonian war, to take a new oath in the Campus Martius.

• • Kal. April.

Paulus the consul, and Cn. Octavius the prætor, set out this day for Macedonia, in their habits of war, and vast numbers of people attending them to the gates. The funeral of Marcia was performed with greater pomp of images than attendance of mourners. The pontifex Sempronius proclaimed the Megalesian plays in honour of Cybele.

4th of the Nones of April.

A Ver Sacrum\* was vowed, pursuant to the opinion of the college of priests. Presents were made to the ambassadors of the Etolians. Ebutius the prætor, set out for his province of Sicily. The fleet stationed on the African coast, entered the port of Ostia with the tribute of that province. An entertainment was given to the people by Marcia's sons at their mother's funeral. A stage play was acted, this day being sacred to Cybele.

3d of the Nones of April.

Popilius Lenas,† C. Decimus, C. Hostilius, were sent ambassadors, in a joint commission, to the kings of Syria and Egypt, in order to accommodate the differences, about which they are now at war. Early in the morning they went, with a great attendance of clients and relations, to offer up a sacrifice and libations at the temple of Castor and Pollux, before they began their journey."

The second set of the remains of the *Acta Diurna*, belong to the year of Rome 691. I have already mentioned how they were discovered, and shall only add, that they are fuller and more entertaining than the former, but rather seem more liable to objections, with regard to their genuineness.

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\* A 'Ver Sacrum' was a vow to sacrifice an ox, sheep, or some such beast, born between the Kalends of March, and the *Pridie Kal.* of June.

† This Popilius met Antiochus, king of Syria, at the head of his conquering army, in Egypt, and drawing a circle round him with a stick he held in his hand, bid him declare himself a friend or enemy to Rome before he stirred out of it. The king, though flushed with success, chose the former; and in consequence of it, withdrew his troops out of the dominions of Ptolemy, who was an ally of the Romans.

" Syllanus and Murena consuls. The Fasces with Murena.  
3d of the Ides of August.

Murena sacrificed early in the morning at the temple of Castor and Pollux, and afterwards assembled the senate in Pompey's senate-house. Syllanus defended Sext. Roscius of Larinum, who was accused of an act of violence by Torquatus before Q. Cornificius the prætor. The defendant was absolved by forty votes, and found guilty by twenty. A riot happened in the Via Sacra, between Clodius's workmen and Milo's slaves.

5th of the Kal. of September.

M. Tullius Cicero pleaded in defence of Cornelius Sylla, accused by Torquatus of being concerned in Catiline's conspiracy, and gained his cause by a majority of five judges. The tribunes\* of the treasury were against the defendant. One of the prætors advertised by an edict, that he should put off his sittings for five days, upon account of his daughter's marriage. C. Cæsar set out for his government of the farther Spain, having been long detained by his creditors. A report was brought to Tertinius the prætor, whilst he was trying causes at his tribunal, that his son was dead: this was contrived by the friends of Copponius, who was accused of poisoning, that the prætor in his concern might adjourn the court; but that magistrate having discovered the falsity of the story, returned to his tribunal, and continued taking informations against the accused.

4th of the Kal. of September.

The funeral of Metella Pia, a vestal, was celebrated; she was buried in the sepulchre of her ancestors in the Aurelian Road. The censors made a bargain that the temple of Ains Loquens should be repaired for 25 sesterces. Q. Hortensius harangued the people about the censorship, and the Allobrogic war. Advice arrived from Etruria, that the re-

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\* The judicial power in public trials underwent frequent alterations at Rome, and had been lodged at different times in the senators, the knights, and sometimes in a mixed number of both. It was now shared, by the Aurelian law, between the senatorian and equestrian orders, and the Tribuni Aerarii, who were Plebeians, and paymasters in the Roman exchequer: the latter were deprived of this privilege by J. Cæsar. The number of judges seems to have varied according to the appointment of the magistrates, or the appointment of the law on which the accusation was founded. At Milo's trial (for instance) they were reduced by lot to 81; and before sentence was given, the accusers and the accused rejected 5 out of each order, so that 51 determined the cause, which was always done by ballot; but there are other cases where the number of judges is different,



mains of the late conspiracy had begun a tumult, headed by L. Sergius.”\*

An admirer of antiquity may perhaps find the same conciseness, clearness, and simplicity, in the *Acta Diurna*, which so eminently distinguish the inscriptions upon the medals and public monuments of the ancients. I must own, however, to be impartial, that they want that sprightly humour and diffuse kind of narration which embellish the compositions of our modern diurnal historians. The Roman gazetteers are defective in several material ornaments of style. They never end an article with the mystical hint, *this occasions great speculation*. They seem to have been ignorant of such engaging introductions, *as we hear it is strongly reported*; and of that ingenious, but thread-bare excuse for a downright lie, *it wants confirmation*. It is also very observable, that the prætor's daughter is married, without our being told that *she was a lady of great beauty, merit, and fortune*.

Another remark, which is naturally suggested from several articles of these journals, is the great regard which the Romans paid to the superstitious ceremonies of a false and ridiculous religion. Not a day passes, but some prodigy is observed, some sacrifice or festival performed to implore the blessing of their deities upon the arms and councils of the state. Three men of the greatest quality in Rome, before they set out on an embassy of importance, go, in a solemn manner, accompanied by their families and friends, to beg the assistance and protection of the gods; as a necessary preparation for a long journey and a weighty employment. I shall only add, that if the Romans thought a strict practice of the religious rites transmitted to them, and made venerable by the institution of their ancestors, absolutely necessary to the preservation of discipline and morality, how much more ought those, who live under a true and divine religion, which enjoins no precepts but what are rational, no ceremonies but what are significant, to shew a proper regard for it upon all occasions, at least never to discover by their lives and discourse, that they have lost all sense, not only of solid piety and virtue, but of common decency.  
: 1740, *Preface*.

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\* This incident seems obscure. Catiline's conspiracy was entirely quashed before this time, so that L. Sergius cannot mean him, as it otherwise might, for his name was Lucius Sergius Catiline; nor can the expression 'reliquæ Conjuratorum' be applied to Catiline's commotion in Etruria, which was the opening of the plot; whereas the words in the *Acta* plainly imply, that this was a renewal of it, by that part of the conspirators, who had escaped, or were yet undiscovered.

## II. On the Catalogue of the Harleian Library.\*

TO solicit a subscription for a catalogue of books exposed to sale, is an attempt for which some apology cannot but be necessary, for few would willingly contribute to the expense of volumes, by which neither instruction nor entertainment could be afforded, from which only the bookseller could expect advantage, and of which the only use must cease, at the dispersion of the library.

Nor could the reasonableness of an universal rejection of our proposal be denied, if this catalogue were to be compiled with no other view, than that of promoting the sale of the books which it enumerates, and drawn up with that inaccuracy and confusion which may be found in those that are daily published.

But our design, like our proposal, is uncommon, and to be prosecuted at a very uncommon expense, it being intended, that the books shall be distributed into their distinct classes, and every class ranged with some regard to the age of the writers; that every book shall be accurately described; that the peculiarities of editions shall be remarked, and observations from the authors of literary history occasionally interspersed, that, by this catalogue, we may inform posterity of the excellence and value of this great collection, and promote the knowledge of scarce books and elegant editions. For this purpose, men of letters are engaged, who cannot even be supplied with amanuenses, but at an expense above that of a common catalogue.

To shew that this collection deserves a particular degree of regard from the learned and the studious, that it excels any library that was ever yet offered to public sale, in the value as well as number of the volumes which it contains, and that therefore this catalogue will not be of less use to men of letters, than those of the Thuanian, Heinsian, or Barberinian libraries, it may not be improper to exhibit a general account of the different classes as they are naturally divided by the several sciences.

By this method we can indeed exhibit only a general idea, at once magnificent and confused; an idea of the writings of many nations, collected from distant parts of the world, discovered sometimes by chance, and sometimes by curiosity, amidst the rubbish of forsaken monasteries, and the repositories of ancient families, and brought hither from every part, as to the universal receptacle of learning.

It will be no displeasing effect of this account, if those

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[\* By Dr. Samuel Johnson. It accompanied the proposals for printing by subscription the *Bibliotheca Harleiana*. E.]

that shall happen to peruse it, should be inclined by it to reflect on the character of the late proprietors, and to pay some tribute of veneration to their ardor for literature, to that generous and exalted curiosity which they gratified with incessant searches and immense expense, and to which they dedicated that time and that superfluity of fortune which many others of their rank employ in the pursuit of contemptible amusements, or the gratification of guilty passions. And, surely, every man, who considers learning as ornamental and advantageous to the community, must allow them the honour of public benefactors, who have introduced amongst us authors hitherto not well known, and added to the literary treasures of their native country.

That our catalogue will excite any other man to emulate the collectors of this library, to prefer books and manuscripts to equipage and luxury, and to forsake noise and diversion for the conversation of the learned, and the satisfaction of extensive knowledge, we are very far from presuming to hope; but shall make no scruple to assert, that, if any man should happen to be seized with such laudable ambition, he may find in this catalogue hints and informations which are not easily to be met with; he will discover, that the boasted Bodleian library is very far from a perfect model, and that even the learned Fabricius cannot completely instruct him in the early editions of the classic writers.

But the collectors of libraries cannot be numerous, and, therefore, catalogues could not very properly be recommended to the public, if they had not a more general and frequent use, an use which every student has experienced, or neglected to his loss. By the means of catalogues only can it be known, what has been written on every part of learning, and the hazard avoided of encountering difficulties which have already been cleared, discussing questions which have already been decided, and digging in mines of literature which former ages have exhausted.

How often this has been the fate of students, every man of letters can declare, and, perhaps, there are very few who have not sometimes valued as new discoveries, made by themselves, those observations which have long since been published, and of which the world therefore will refuse them the praise; nor can that refusal be censured as any enormous violation of justice; for, why should they not forfeit by their ignorance, what they might claim by their sagacity?

To illustrate this remark, by the mention of obscure names, would not much confirm it, and to villify for this purpose the memory of men truly great, would be to deny

them the reverence which they may justly claim from those whom their writings have instructed. May the shade at least of one great English critic rest without disturbance, and may no man presume to insult his memory who wants his learning, his reason, or his wit.

From the vexatious disappointment of meeting reproach, where praise is expected, every man will certainly desire to be secured, and therefore that book will have some claim to his regard from which he may receive informations of the labours of his predecessors, such as a catalogue of the Harleian library will copiously afford him.

Nor is the use of catalogues of less importance to those whom curiosity has engaged in the study of literary history, and who think the intellectual revolutions of the world more worthy of their attention, than the ravages of tyrants, the desolation of kingdoms, the rout of armies, and the fall of empires. Those who are pleased with observing the first birth of new opinions, their struggles against opposition, their silent progress under persecution, their general reception, and their gradual decline, or sudden extinction; those that amuse themselves with remarking the different periods of human knowledge, and observe how darkness and light succeed each other, by what accident the most gloomy nights of ignorance have given way to the dawn of science, and how learning has languished and decayed for want of patronage and regard, or been overborne by the prevalence of fashionable ignorance, or lost amidst the tumults of invasion and the storms of violence; all those, who desire any knowledge of the literary transactions of past ages, may find in catalogues, like this, at least, such an account as is given by annalists and chronologers of civil history.

How the knowledge of the sacred writings has been diffused, will be observed from the catalogue of the various editions of the Bible, from the first impression by Fust, in 1462, to the present time, in which will be contained the Polyglot editions of Spain, France, and England, those of the original Hebrew, the Greek Septuagint, and the Latin Vulgate, with the versions which are now used in the remotest parts of Europe, in the country of the Grisons, in Lithuania, Bohemia, Finland, and Iceland.

With regard to the attempts of the same kind made in our own country, there are few whose expectations will not be exceeded by the number of English Bibles, of which not one is forgotten, whether valuable for the pomp and beauty of the impression, or for the notes with which the text is accompanied, or for any controversy or persecution that it

produced, or for the peculiarity of any single passage. With the same care have the various editions of the book of Common Prayer been selected, from which all the alterations which have been made in it may be easily remarked.

Amongst a great number of Roman missals and breviaries, remarkable for the beauty of their cuts and illuminations, will be found the Mosarabic missal and breviary, that raised such commotions in the kingdom of Spain.

The controversial treatises written in England, about the time of the Reformation, have been diligently collected, with a multitude of remarkable tracts, single sermons, and small treatises, which, however worthy to be preserved, are perhaps to be found in no other place.

The regard which was always paid, by the collectors of this library, to that remarkable period of time, in which the art of printing was invented, determined them to accumulate the ancient impressions of the fathers of the church, to which the later editions are added, lest antiquity should have seemed more worthy of esteem than accuracy.

History has been considered with the regard due to that study by which the manners are most easily formed, and from which the most efficacious instruction is received, nor will the most extensive curiosity fail of gratification in this library, from which no writers have been excluded that relate either to the religious or civil affairs of any nation.

Not only those authors of ecclesiastical history have been procured, who treat of the state of religion in general, or deliver accounts of sects or nations, but those likewise who have confined themselves to particular orders of men in every church, who have related the original, and the rules of every society, or recounted the lives of its founder and its members; those who have deduced in every country the succession of bishops; and those who have employed their abilities in celebrating the piety of particular saints, or martyrs, or monks, or nuns.

The civil history of all nations has been amassed together, nor is it easy to determine, which has been thought most worthy of curiosity.

Of France, not only the general histories and ancient chronicles, the accounts of celebrated reigns, and narratives of remarkable events; but even the memorials of single families, the lives of private men, the antiquities of particular cities, churches, and monasteries, the topography of provinces, and the accounts of laws, customs, and prescriptions, are here to be found.

The several states of Italy have, in this treasury, their

particular historians, whose accounts are, perhaps, generally more exact, by being less extensive; and more interesting, by being more particular.

Nor has less regard been paid to the different nations of the Germanic empire, of which, neither the Bohemians, nor Hungarians, nor Austrians, nor Bavarians, have been neglected; nor have their antiquities, however generally disregarded, been less studiously searched, than their present state.

The northern nations have supplied this collection, not only with history, but poetry, with Gothic antiquities, and Runic inscriptions; which at least have this claim to veneration, above the remains of the Roman magnificence, that they are the works of those heroes, by whom the Roman empire was destroyed, and which may plead, at least in this nation, that they ought not to be neglected by those that owe to the men whose memories they preserve, their constitution, their properties, and their liberties.

The curiosity of those collectors extended equally to all parts of the world; nor did they forget to add to the northern the southern writers, or to adorn their collection with chronicles of Spain, and the conquest of Mexico.

Even of those nations with which we have less intercourse, whose customs are less accurately known, and whose history is less distinctly recounted, there are in this library reposed such accounts, as the Europeans have been hitherto able to obtain; nor are the Mogul, the Tartar, the Turk, and the Saracen, without their historians.

That persons so inquisitive, with regard to the transactions of other nations, should inquire yet more ardently after the history of their own, may be naturally expected; and, indeed, this part of the library is no common instance of diligence and accuracy. Here are to be found with the ancient chronicles, and larger histories of Britain, the narratives of single reigns, and the accounts of remarkable revolutions, the topographical histories of counties, the pedigrees of families, the antiquities of churches and cities, the proceedings of Parliaments, the records of monasteries, and the lives of particular men, whether eminent in the church or the state, or remarkable in private life: whether exemplary for their virtues, or detestable for their crimes; whether persecuted for religion, or executed for rebellion.

That memorable period of the English history, which begins with the reign of King Charles the First, and ends with the Restoration, will almost furnish a library alone, such is the number of volumes, pamphlets, and papers, which were

published by either party, and such is the care with which they have been preserved.

Nor is history without the necessary preparatives and attendants, geography and chronology; of geography, the best writers and delineators have been procured, and pomp and accuracy have been both regarded. The student of chronology may here find likewise those authors who searched the records of time, and fixed the periods of history.

With the historians and geographers, may be ranked the writers of voyages and travels, which may be read here in the Latin, English, Dutch, German, French, Italian, and Spanish languages.

The laws of different countries, as they are in themselves equally worthy of curiosity with their history, have, in this collection, been justly regarded; and the rules, by which the various communities of the world are governed, may be here examined and compared. Here are the ancient editions of the papal decretals, and the commentators on the civil law, the edicts of Spain, and the statutes of Venice.

But, with particular industry, have the various writers on the laws of our own country been collected, from the most ancient to the present time, from the bodies of the statutes, to the minutest treatise; not only the reports, precedents, and readings of our own courts, but even the laws of our West Indian colonies will be exhibited in our catalogue.

But neither history nor law has been so far able to engross this library, as to exclude physic, philosophy, or criticism. Those have been thought, with justice, worthy of a place, who have examined the different species of animals, delineated their form, or described their properties and instincts, or who have penetrated the bowels of the earth, treated on its different strata, and analysed its metals; or who have amused themselves with less laborious speculations, or planted trees, or cultivated flowers.

Those that have exalted their thoughts above the minuter parts of the creation, who have observed the motions of the heavenly bodies, and attempted systems of the universe, have not been denied the honour which they deserved by so great an attempt, whatever has been their success. Nor have those mathematicians been rejected, who have applied their science to the common purposes of life, or those that have deviated into the kindred arts of tactics, architecture, and fortification.

Even arts of far less importance have found their authors,

nor have these authors been despised by the boundless curiosity of the proprietors of the Harleian Library. The writers on horsemanship and fencing are more numerous, and more bulky, than could be expected, by those who reflect how seldom those excel in either, whom their education has qualified to compose books. <sup>6</sup>

The admirer of Greek and Roman Literature will meet, in this collection, with editions little known to the most inquisitive critics, and which have escaped the observation of those whose great employment has been the collation of copies; nor will he find only the most ancient editions of Faustus, Jenson, Spira, Swenheim, and Pannartz; but the most accurate and likewise beautiful of Colinaeus, the Juntae, Plantin, Aldus, the Stephens, and Elzevir, with the commentaries and observations of the most learned editors.

Nor are they accompanied only with the illustrations of those who have confined their attempts to particular writers; but of those likewise who have treated on any part of the Greek or Roman antiquities, their laws, their customs, their dress, their buildings, their wars, their revenues, or the rites and ceremonies of their worship, and those that have endeavoured to explain any of their authors from their statues or their coins.

Next to the ancients, those writers deserve to be mentioned, who, at the restoration of literature, imitated their language and their style with so great success, or who laboured with so much industry to make them understood: such were Philelphus and Politian, Scaliger and Buchanan, and the poets of the age of Leo the Tenth; these are likewise to be found in this library; together with the *Deliciae*, or collections of all nations.

Painting is so nearly allied to poetry, that it cannot be wondered that those who have so much esteemed the one, have paid an equal regard to the other; and therefore it may be easily imagined, that the collection of prints is numerous in an uncommon degree; but surely the expectation of every man will be exceeded, when he is informed that there are more than forty thousand engraven from Raphael, Titian, Guido, the Caracci, and a thousand others, by Nantueil, Hollar, Callet, Edelinck, and Dorigny, and other engravers of equal reputation.

There is also a great collection of original drawings, of which three seem to deserve a particular mention, the first exhibits a representation of the inside of St. Peter's church at Rome; the second, of that of St. John Lateran; and the



third, of the high altar of St. Ignatius, all painted with the utmost accuracy in their proper colours.

As the value of this great collection may be conceived from this account, however imperfect; as the variety of subjects must engage the curiosity of men of different studies, inclinations, and employments, it may be thought of very little use to mention any slighter advantages, or to dwell on the decorations and embellishments which the generosity of the proprietors has bestowed upon it; yet, since the compiler of the Thuanian catalogue thought not even that species of elegance below his observation, it may not be improper to observe, that the Harleian library, perhaps, excels all others, not more in the number and excellence, than in the splendour of its volumes.

We may now surely be allowed to hope, that our catalogue will be thought not unworthy of the public curiosity; that it will be purchased as a record of this great collection, and preserved as one of the memorials of learning.

The patrons of literature will forgive the purchaser of this library, if he presumes to assert some claim to their protection and encouragement, as he may have been instrumental in continuing to this nation the advantage of it. The sale of Vossius's collection into a foreign country is, to this day, regretted by men of letters; and, if this effort for the prevention of another loss of the same kind should be disadvantageous to him, no man will hereafter willingly risk his fortune in the cause of learning.

1742, Dec.

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### III. Account of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts, in the British Museum.\*

**THIS** collection was begun near the end of the last century, by Robert Harley, of Brampton Bryan, in Herefordshire, Esq. afterwards Earl of Oxford, and Lord High Treasurer; and was conducted upon the plan of the great Sir Robert Cotton.

He purchased his first considerable collection in August 1705, and in less than ten years he got together near 2,500 curious and rare MSS. among which were those of Sir Simon

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\* From the Preface to the New Index to that Collection compiled by Mr. Astle.

D'Ewes, the Suffolk antiquary; Mr. John Stow, author of the Survey of London; Mr. Charles, Lancaster Herald; and John Fox, the Martyrologist.

Soon after, the celebrated Dr. George Hickes; Mr. Anstis, Garter King at Arms; Bishop Nicholson, and many other eminent antiquaries, not only offered him their assistance in procuring MSS. but presented him with several that were very valuable.

Being thus encouraged to perseverance by his success, he kept many persons employed in purchasing MSS. for him abroad, giving them written instructions for their conduct.

By these means, the MS. Library was in the year 1721, increased to near 6,000 books; 14,000 original charters, and 500 rolls.

On the 21st of May 1724, Lord Oxford died: but his son Edward, who succeeded to his honours and estate, still farther enlarged the collection; so that when he died, June 16, 1741, it consisted of 8,000 volumes several of them containing distinct and independent treatises, besides many loose papers, which have been since sorted and bound up in volumes; and above 40,000 original rolls, charters, letters patent, grants, and other deeds and instruments of great antiquity.

The principal design of making this collection was the establishment of a MS. English Historical Library, and the rescuing from destruction such records of our national antiquities as had eluded the diligence of preceding collectors: but Lord Oxford's plan was more extensive; for his collection abounds with curious MSS. in every science.

A general idea of the contents of this collection may be conceived from the following articles.

Of Bibles and Biblical Books, 300 copies in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, Arabic, and Latin Languages, many of great antiquity, particularly,

A Hebrew bible several hundred years old, to which are prefixed the various readings of the Eastern and Western copies, a syllabus of the Parashoths and Haphtaroths for the whole year, and two remarkable drawings, in gold highly embossed, of the sacred vessels and utensils of the ancient Jews.

A Hebrew bible, with small Masoretic notes, adorned with miniature paintings, written in the 14th century.

A Latin bible, with St. Paul's epistle to the Laodiceans, finely illuminated, written in the 11th century, and formerly belonging to the cathedral of Anjou.

The Old and New Testament of the vulgate edition, elegantly written in the 13th century, with the psalter of the Gallican version; Rabanus Maurus's prefaces to his commentaries on the books of the Maccabees, and an interpretation of the Hebrew names, adorned with most beautiful miniatures. The reading of the 8th verse of the 5th chapter of St. John's first epistle in this MS. is, *Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis; et hi tres unum sunt.*

A transcript of the books of the Old and New Testament, written in the same century, and illuminated, formerly belonging to the Capuchin convent at Montpellier. In this MS. the 7th verse of the 5th chapter of St. John is wanting; and the reading of the 8th verse is, *Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis; et tres unum sunt.*

A copy of the Old and New Testament, with St. Jerome's prologue to the book of Job written in capitals, and of the 13th century.

Another copy, finely illuminated, written in the 13th century.

The most complete copy now extant of Peter de Riga's versification of the Latin bible, written in the 14th century.

A double roll, containing the Hebrew Pentateuch, written with great care in a very large character, and without points, or any horns or flourishes on the tops of the letters, on 40 brown African skins of different sizes, some containing more columns than others, and having a space of about four lines left between every two books.

The Hebrew Pentateuch, with a Chaldee paraphrase; and the books of Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther; with the commentaries of R. S. Jarchi, and part of the Chaldee interpretation of the Canticles, written in the 14th century.

A small roll, containing the book of Esther in Hebrew, finely written in a very small character, and by a Spanish hand.

Part of the book of Psalms, and the entire books of Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Esdras, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Esther, and Lamentations, in Hebrew, written in the 12th century.

Part of Exodus, and the whole book of Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Esther, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, in Hebrew, with the Haphtaroths; of the 14th century.

Two copies of the book of Job in Latin, one written in the 11th century; the other, with a gloss, in the 12th.

A fine copy of the books of Tobit, Judith, Ruth, and Wisdom, in Latin, with a gloss, written in the 13th century.

Two biblical books, upwards of 500 years old, being part of a most richly illuminated MS. the first vol. of which beginning at Genesis, and ending with Job, is preserved in the Bodleian Library [Arch. A. 154.] They consist of texts according to the vulgar Latin, selected from the books of Maccabees and New Testament, with the subject of each text, represented in a picture, included in a pretty large circle. Underneath each text is an interpretation in Latin, according to the opinion of the author, who generally applies such text to demonstrate the happiness of virtue and the misery of vice. These explications are also represented in historical paintings, and the whole is adorned with illuminated ornaments.

Three very fair copies of the New Testament, of Wickliff's translation, all written in his time, and one of them, as is supposed, by his own hand. To one of these copies is prefixed a calendar of the lessons and gospels of all the year. At the end are the epistles of St. Paul to the Laodiceans, and the lessons and epistles of the old "lawe, that ben red in the chirche all the yeere after the use of Salisbury."

The four gospels in Greek, with the canons of Eusebius, said in a note at the end of the MS. and in a hand nearly coeval with it, to be the proper hand-writing of King Theodosius the Great.

A most august copy of the Greek gospels, in capitals, written in the 11th century.

An ancient transcript of the Greek gospels, adorned with a great variety of historical paintings, and accompanied with an explanatory treatise on the evangelists and evangelical lessons, a menology, the canons of Eusebius written in illuminated blue and gold letters, his epistle to Carpian, the preface of Irenæus, and another preface taken from Cosma, the Egyptian's *Christianorum Opinio de Mundo*, sive *Topographia Christiana*; allowed to be at least as old as the 12th century. It is said in a note written on a spare leaf at the end of this MS. that it formerly belonged to a monastery, that took its appellation from the prophet Elias.

A fair copy of the Greek gospels, written in the 11th century, with the pictures of the Evangelists painted on gold crowns, and their names written on the margins in Arabic characters.

Two other copies of the Greek gospels, written in the 12th century, and another of the same age, adorned with the pictures of the Holy Virgin and Evangelists.

An elegant transcript of the four gospels in Greek, written in the 13th century, illuminated and adorned with paintings, and two others of the same century.

A most venerable exemplar of the four gospels of St. Jerome's version, with the prefaces and canons of Eusebius; the whole written in capitals, and allowed to be 1200 years old. In this MS. it is observable, that the genealogy of our blessed Saviour appears to be distinct, and separated from St. Matthew's gospel. The following words, in two independent lines, occurring after the 17th verse of that chapter:

*Genealogia Hucusque,  
Incip. evangl. secū. MATTH.*

So that the gospel begins at the 18th verse of the first chapter, in the same manner as in the famous copy of the Evangelists written in Ireland, and in another MS. of the same kind, and of the twelfth century; which MSS. are both preserved in this library. It is also observable, that the like distinction or separation of the genealogy of our blessed Saviour, from the other part of St. Matthew's gospel, is made in the famous copy of the four gospels, formerly belonging to King Æthelstan, and now preserved in the Cottonian library (Tiberius, A. II.) which book was by him appointed to be used by the succeeding kings of England, at the time of their taking their coronation oath.

A noble exemplar of the four gospels, in capital letters of gold, written in the eighth century. Every page of the sacred text, consisting of two separate columns, is inclosed within a broad and beautifully illuminated border. The pictures of the Evangelists, with their symbolic animals, are curiously painted in the front of their respective gospels; the initial letter of each gospel is richly illuminated, and so large as to fill an entire page. To the whole are prefixed the prologues, arguments, and breviarics; two letters of St. Jerome to Damasus, the canons of Eusebius, his letters to Carpian, and a capitular of the gospels for the course of the year, all of them written in small golden characters.

A transcript of the Latin gospels, with their usual accompaniments; of the same age with the last MS. written in letters of gold, but of a small alphabet; and remarkable for the singular manner in which the genealogy of our Saviour is placed.

An exemplar of the holy gospels, likewise written in the 8th century, and formerly belonging to the church of St. Ciricius at Soissons. To this manuscript are prefixed the epistle to Damasus, and the usual arguments, prologues, &c. with an interpretation of Hebrew names, a catalogue of the books and vestments belonging to that church, and a list of its saints.

Two other copies of the four Latin gospels, also written in the 8th century. In the latter of these, the reading of the 23d verse of the last chapter of St. John's gospel is, "Si sic eum volo manere donec veniam;" and that of the 24th verse is, "Si eum volo manere."

The four gospels of St. Jerome's version, with his prologues, arguments, &c. the canons of Eusebius, and the parallel passages, written in letters of gold in the 10th century. This MS. is adorned with pictures of the following subjects, painted on purple grounds, viz. before the gospel of St. Matthew, in a circle, are, the representation of our Saviour, sitting as enthroned; holding in his right hand the book of the new law, that of the old law lying in his lap; with the four evangelists in the angles, kneeling. 2dly, Our Saviour standing, with St. John resting his head on his bosom. 3dly, The portrait of St. Matthew. And 4thly, The salutation of the virgin. Before St. Mark's gospel are the portrait of that evangelist, and the dormition of the Virgin Mary. At the beginning of St. Luke's gospel are his portrait, and the crucifixion of our Saviour. Before the gospel of St. John, are the picture of that evangelist, and the ascension of our Lord.

Two other copies, written in the same century; one of them finely decorated with the pictures of the Evangelists and St. Jerome; and having the rubrics written in silver letters.

A very rare and valuable exemplar of the Latin gospels of the vulgate edition, once belonging to the abbey church of St. Edmund's Bury; elegantly written in the 10th century, but unhappily despoiled of the initial leaves of the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, probably for the sake of the illuminations. At the beginning of this volume is a syllabus of the evangelical lessons, according to the usage of the Roman church; and at the end is inserted the memorable contest between Gundulphus, bishop of Rochester, and Picote, sheriff of Grandbruge.

The Latin gospels, written with red ink, about the beginning of the 11th century, and in the Anglo-Norman character. In this MS. the genealogy of our Saviour is also

detached from the other part of St. Matthew's gospel; as is likewise the first part of the 18th verse of the first chapter, "Christi autem generatio sic erat." All the rubrics are written in gold capital letters; and the initial letter of each gospel is also of gold, and fills an entire page.

The four Evangelists, written in the Irish character, by Brigidianus, or Maol•Brighte, for the use of Gilla, coarb, or vicar of the church of St. Patrick, supposed by Father Simon to be at least 700 years old. It is one of the most authentic copies of the Latin gospels, which the Irish have ever sent out of their island. To this exemplar are added, St. Jerome's prologue of the canons of the four gospels, an explanation of such Hebrew and Syriac names as occur in the gospels, a Hebrew, Latin, and Irish vocabulary, the usual prefaces, an interlineary gloss, and a *Catena Patrum*.

A transcript of the four Evangelists of the Latin vulgate, with various readings, in Irish characters.

The epistles of St. Paul, the Catholic epistles, and the Apocalypse in Latin, with the arguments, &c. above 1000 years old; prior to St. Jerome's corrections. The reading of the 8th verse of the 5th chapter of the first epistle to St. John, is in the manuscript, "Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et tres unum sunt."

St. Paul's epistles in Arabic. The canonical epistles of St. Paul in Latin, with a gloss; his epistle to the Laodiceans, and an exposition of the gospel of St. John, written in the 12th century.

A Roman psalter of St. Jerome, written about the time of our King Edgar; illuminated; and each psalm elegantly embellished with a most curious historical drawing, illustrating the text. A psalter, with the litany, calendar, &c. elegantly written; illuminated and decorated with beautiful miniature paintings of the 11th century. A most curious and finely preserved psalter, in Greek, Latin, and Arabic, written in the 12th century. King Henry III.'s psalter, curiously illuminated; and written for his use by Thomas de Langley. A Greek psalter, with sacred hymns, of the 11th century. An extremely fine Greek psalter, of the 12th century; and another of the same age, once belonging to the monks of Monte Oliyeto. A Latin psalter, with sacred hymns, written in the 13th century. Two Arabic psalters, to one of which are subjoined a psalm composed on the slaying Goliath, and ten sacred canticles, extracted from the scripture. A Greek and Russian psalter. A Slavonic psalter. An exposition of the psalter in Latin, illuminated

and most accurately written in a hand of the 10th century; and a great variety of other valuable transcripts of the different biblical books, written in the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries.

Cabbalas, Talmuds, and Talmudical books, Targums, Expositions, Glosses, and Commentaries on the Pentateuch, and other books of the Old Testament; in Hebrew, Chaldee, and other languages, compiled by the most celebrated Rabbins. Amongst these are, a very fine copy of Maimonides, de Lege, in Hebrew, and without points, written in 1472, by Salomon Bel Alzuk; and the Sepher a Misvot of Rabbi Moses Ben Jacob de Cusi; written in the beginning of the 15th century. A very beautiful transcript of Maimonides's Moreh Nebuchim, in Hebrew, written in small characters by a Spanish hand, and finely illuminated. R. Levi's Hebrew commentary on Job, written in the 14th century. Sundry very elegant and ancient copies of the liturgies of the German and other Jews; particularly a liturgy, &c. of the German Jews, written in the 13th century. The Machazor, or office of prayer, composed for their greater feasts, differing from the common printed liturgy, and written in the 14th century. The order of prayer, in which the rubrics are more ample than in the printed books. Transcripts of R. Jacob Ben Asher, and R. Ben Ezra's four orders; containing all the rites, customs, and ceremonies, as used by the Jews in their present dispersion.

Near 200 volumes of the writings of the Fathers: particularly a copy of part of the works of St. Hilary, written in the 9th century, and formerly belonging to the church of St. Mary and St. Nicholas of Arenstein. A fine transcript of St. Augustine's sermons on the gospel and first epistle of St. John, written in the 12th century, belonging to the same monastery. A beautiful exemplar of the same father's discourses on the book of Genesis, written in the 12th century; and another, containing his books "De Civitate Dei, et de Trinitate," written in the 13th century. St. Chrysostom's Greek homilies on the epistle to Timothy, written in the 13th century. The works of St. Athanasius in Greek, of the 14th century. The homilies of St. Basil, Ephraim Cyrus, and John Chrysostom, in Greek, written in the 14th century; and another copy of the same, with St. Gregory's encomium on St. George and St. Marina, likewise of the same age. As also ancient councils, canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, great variety of annotations, commentaries, expositions, harmonies of the four gospels, paraphrases,



histories of the Old and New Testament, &c. with a multitude of theological treatises, many of which are highly worthy to be consulted.

Liturgies and liturgical books; as the liturgies of SS. Chrysostom, Basil, and Nazianzen, of which there are in this collection two very fair copies in Greek, one with the prayers and evangelical and epistolical lessons, written in the 11th century, and the other written in the 14th century. The liturgy of the church of Syria. Two fair volumes, containing the Samaritan liturgy. The Russian liturgy. The liturgies of the Roman and Greek churches; particularly a most valuable exemplar of that of the latter; wherein the several offices, chants, hymns, and antiphones, are marked with Greek musical notes, according to the present usage of that church. A curious liturgy, adorned with beautiful paintings and illuminations; which, from the calendar of German saints inserted in it, is supposed to have formerly belonged to some church in Germany.

Missals, breviaries, and hours of the Holy Virgin, according to the use of the Roman, English, and Gallican churches; rituals, ordinals, books of offices, processional, and graduals; many of them curiously illuminated, and richly adorned with fine historical paintings; among these is, the missal of the church of Toul, in Lorraine, which, besides its exquisite paintings, is remarkable for having in the litany of saints, after the three holy archangels, one to the angel Uriel; notwithstanding several councils had strictly forbidden the invocation of more than the three first. A missal adorned with exquisite paintings, wherein the figures are represented of a larger size than usual; and to which is added a calendar, ornamented with several curious miniatures, wherein the several labours of the farm and vineyard throughout the year are curiously delineated. Two breviaries, painted in a most exquisite manner; to each of which is prefixed a calendar finely decorated with miniatures of saints, country sports, and employments, &c. As also many others.

Ancient evangelisteria and lectionaries; amongst which are, an evangelisterium, written in Greek capitals in the 9th century. An evangelisterium, in Greek capitals, written in the year 995, by Constantine, Presbyter: the first page thereof, and the references to the chapters, are in letters of gold. Another evangelisterium, adorned with pictures of the four evangelists finely painted, and the rubric written in letters of gold. At the end is a certificate, signed on the 10th of March, 1699, by Laurence Alexander Zacagnius,

principal librarian of the Vatican, testifying that this MS. was then upwards of 700 years old. Three evangelisteria, written in the 11th century; one of which is remarkable for being written on parchment, from whence the words of some other book have been erased. Also an elegant illuminated transcript of "Wickliff's Gospelis and Epistolis of all the festis in the yeer by ordre as theiben red in the messe book after the use of Salisbery."

Store of menologies, martyrologies, and lives of saints; which, though they are to be read with great caution, yet furnish genuine matter of good note, and not readily to be met with elsewhere.

A variety of other books of religion and devotion; particularly a very fine copy of the *Passio Christi secundum Evangelistas*, with prayers to God and several saints, neatly written in Saxon characters, and in the 8th century. A book of prayers, benedictions, and exorcisms, in Latin, written in the 10th century. Wickliff's summary of the books of the Old and New Testament, with their authority and use to Christian men. His postils; and his notes on the *Pater-Noster*, with sundry other discourses. A book in the Armenian tongue, containing the Apostles' Creed, a history of the Bible, and a form of proper confession to be used before taking the holy sacrament. A translation into Persic of the history of our Saviour; written originally in the Portuguese tongue by Father Jerome Xaver. Ethiopic prayers. Several transcripts of the Alcoran, in Arabic, Persic, and other languages; and commentaries thereon. A collection of Mohammedan prayers, written in the Persic and Turkish tongues. The *Nadham*, or collection of sentences contained in the Alcoran; with the apophthegms of Mohammed. Three books of prayers in Arabic, two of them written in the African character. Together with other tracts on the Mohammedan religion.

An amazing number of curious and authentic manuscripts, relative as well to the topographical description and antiquities of Britain, as to the civil and ecclesiastical history of the kingdom; its laws, constitution, and government: this mine appears inexhaustible, and every vein full of the richest stores.

First, for the topographical part; histories and surveys of several counties, and the customs of their inhabitants; memorials of the founding and incorporation of cities, towns, boroughs, and villages, with the most remarkable events that have happened to each; their antiquities, and other curiosities. Accounts of the erections of temples, castles, and

other buildings; and of the remains (if any) of such as have been destroyed. The establishment and endowment of parishes, foundations of religious houses, books of ancient tenures, inquisitions *post mortem*, escheats, customaries, terriers of manors, perambulations of forests, accounts of ancient coin, monumental inscriptions, forts, camps, roads, military ways, and other antiquities, which have been casually discovered in particular places. Notes concerning the most remarkable rivers, mountains, mines, minerals, and other curiosities. A variety of tracts, and *memoranda*, relating to particular parts of England, as well in its pristine state, when separated into petty kingdoms, provinces, and principalities, during the times of the Britains, Romans, and Saxons, as subsequently, when under the dominion of one monarch, divided into counties, ridings, rapes, wapentakes, &c. As also the laborious collections made by Sir Symonds D'Ewes, John Fox, the martyrologist, Mr. Erdeswick, honest John Stow, Mr. Charles, Lancaster herald, and others.

Secondly, for the civil and ecclesiastical history; valuable copies of our ancient historians and chroniclers, as Gildas, Nennius, Asserius Menevensis, Ælfred of Beverly, Abbot Benedict, Castoreus or John Beaver, J. Brompton, Raulf Boun, Douglass, Monk of Glastonbury, Edmerus, Florence of Worcester, Robert of Gloucester, William Giseburn, R. Hoveden, Henry Huntingdon, Peter de Ickham, John Joselyn, R. Higden, Peter Langtoft, J. Lewis, Adam Murimuth, Geoffery of Monmouth, Robertus Montensis, John Pyke, Sir Walter Raleigh, Robert de Reading, Thomas Rudburne, Simeon of Durham, Richard Spote, Nicholas Trivet, John Wallingford, Thomas Walsingham, Walter of Coventry, Gotselinus de Sancto Bertino, and sundry anonymous authors of good value. A finely illuminated copy of John Harding's Chronicle, much more perfect than the edition published by Grafton, and containing the letter of defiance sent to King Henry IV. by the old earl of Northumberland, Henry Hotspur, his son, and the earl of Worcester, his brother, before the battle of Shrewsbury; some discourses of the same old earl, touching John of Gaunt; a map of Scotland, from Carlisle to the water of Tay; and another, from thence to Sutherland and Caithness; with sundry other matters omitted likewise by Grafton. A transcript of John de Trevisa's translation of Higdon's Polychronicon, differing from the account given of that work by Bale and Pitts; together with several other translations and compositions of Trevisa, not to be met with in any other

book. No less than four ancient copies of the Polycratia Temporum of Roger Cestrensis; from whence R. Higden stole his Polychronicon. The famous and very ancient copy of William Malmsbury's elaborate treatise de Gestis Regum Anglorum, which was formerly preserved with great religious care at Rochester. An exemplar of his four books, de Gestis Pontificum, written in the 12th century: and several transcripts of the Dunstable Chronicle, one whereof is most beautifully illuminated; and another adorned with the blazon of the arms of divers emperors and kings.

Chronicles and histories of abbeys, and other religious houses; as those of Abingdon, St. Alban's, Alnewick, Bermondsey, St. Edmund's Bury, St. David's, Hales, Litchfield, Ely, St. Paul's (London), and Peterborough.

III. Lives of particular kings, and histories of their reigns. As of Edward the Confessor; King Harold, of whose life and miracles here is a very fair copy, written in the 12th century. Henry I. Richard I. Henry III. Edward I. Edward II. and Edward III. The History of Richard II. written by Fran. de Marque, a French gentleman, attendant on the court in the queen's service; adorned with sixteen admirable paintings, wherein the principal persons and habits of those times are most accurately represented. As also those of Henry IV. Henry V. Henry VI. and Edward IV.

Many original instructions to ambassadors, and letters which passed between them and the chief ministers of their courts; together with authentic copies of an immense number of others.

Letters to and from foreign princes and states, negotiations, alliances, leagues, truces, and treaties of peace, commerce, and navigation.

Summons to parliament from the 49th of Henry III. to the 21st year of the reign of King Henry VIII. in many places larger and more correct than the work published under that title, by Sir William Dugdale. Transcripts of the rolls, journals, and *memoranda* of parliament; particularly a copy of the parliament rolls, beginning at the 4th year of King Edward II. and continued to the end of the last parliament of King Henry VIII. in thirty volumes; amongst which are the parliament rolls of the 5th, 8th, and 9th years of King Edward II. which are, with others, omitted by Sir Robert Cotton, in his abridgment of the Tower records, and by him supposed to have been lost. Journals of the House of Lords, from the first year of Henry VIII. to the end of the year 1740, 69 volumes. As also 111 other volumes, containing the Journals of the House of Commons, from the

first year (inclusive) of King Edw. VI. to the 8th day of March, 1701. A numerous collection of privileges and orders of parliament, and sundry papers relative to parliamentary affairs.

Proclamations, original letters, journals, and other books of the privy council.

Books of aids, subsidies, reliefs, taxes, granted to sundry particular kings of England; and account books of the product and disposal of the ancient demesne lands of the crown.

Letters, papers, books of docquets, &c. relative to the offices of the privy seal, signet, ordnance, admiralty, navy, victualling, customs, and excise. Three volumes of very interesting original papers and letters, which belonged to John Holles, duke of Newcastle, as lord privy seal to Queen Anne; giving a better insight into the transactions of those times, and the immense sums issued on account of the forces employed under the duke of Marlborough, than can easily be met with elsewhere.

Accounts of the public revenue, and national expenses. Books and papers of the household, and treasurer of the chamber. Inventories and indentures of the jewel office and wardrobe. Orders, proceedings, and accounts of the office of works. Laws and ordinances for management of the mint.

IV. Several large collections of letters and speeches of our kings, their chief ministers, and other persons of eminence; particularly four volumes, containing original letters by the royal family of England, from Henry VIII. to the end of King Charles I. Eighteen volumes of original letters of divers considerable persons, relating to public affairs, from the year 1307 to 1716. And two volumes, containing letters written to Henry, prince of Wales; together with original draughts of his own letters. The above volumes afford interesting anecdotes, particularly relative to Queen Elizabeth, James I. Charles I. and Charles II. unnoticed by the most elaborate writers of the English history; and may be justly deemed inestimable remains of the times to which they relate.

V. Histories of the first planting and propagating of Christianity in Britain, and its growth and increase under the British and Saxon prelates.

The lives and successions of English archbishops and bishops; particularly a most noble illuminated copy of the lives of the seven first archbishops of Canterbury, by Gotse-  
linus de Sancto Bertino, monk of St. Augustine's at Can-

terbury, in the time of St. Anselm; and of which the first part only, containing the life of St. Augustine, is published by Mr. Wharton.

Saxon and English councils, and the canons promulgated by them. Provincial and diocesan canons and constitutions.

The forms and manner of election, and consecration of archbishops and bishops: their jurisdictions, privileges, and courts. Surveys, terriers, and rentals of their possessions; taxations of their spirituals and temporals, and inquisitions relative to the state of their respective dioceses.

Lives and canonizations of sundry British, Saxon, and English saints.

VI. Authentic papers and memorials relating to the dissolution of religious houses, and the establishment of the reformation; particularly draughts of acts of parliament for their dissolution, some in the hand-writing of King Henry VIII. Inventories of plate, jewels, and other valuables belonging to them. Inquisitions, with the state of several episcopal dioceses, and the returns made thereto by the bishops. Accounts of the erection and proceedings of the court of augmentation; with four original and very valuable volumes belonging to that court.

Historical accounts of the succession, rights, forms, and instruments of elections of abbots, priors, and other superiors, and their officers. Chartularies, registers, and ledger books of sundry monasteries. The most accurate and valuable register of Dunstable, begun by Richard de Morins, the prior of that house, and carried on from the foundation of the priory by King Henry I. to the Reformation.

VII. Statutes of the two universities, and of their several colleges and halls, and a vast mass of other materials relating to their histories and antiquities; with a transcript of the proceedings of the convocation upon the divorce of Anne of Cleves, authenticated under the hands of public notaries.

VIII. Papers relating to the laws, polity, and civil government of England; divers copies of the laws of several of the Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norman kings. Transcripts of divers of the *Magna Chartæ* of King Henry III. and an inspeimus and copy of his confirmation, both of the great charter, and of the similar one, sealed by Pr. Edward, at London, the 10th day of March, 1264. Transcripts of ancient statutes, never printed. Readings of them; and extracts of all the private acts of parliament remaining in the Rolls Chapel.

Historical accounts of, and memorandums relating to, baronies, serjeancies, knight fees, and other tenures. Copies of escheat, rolls, inquisitions *post mortem*, pleas of the crown, &c. and abundance of other law books.

Many treatises on the institution, establishment, and jurisdiction of the Exchequer, King's Bench, Common Bench, Courts of Wards and Liveries, Star Chamber, and Chancery; as also of the Courts Leet, Baron, Pye-Powder, and other inferior courts, the forms and methods of proceedings in them respectively, and accounts of their several offices, registers, and records.

Discourses on the antiquity, jurisdiction, and authority of the ancient great officers of the kingdom; to wit, the Marshal, Steward, Constable, and Admiral. The forms, ceremonies, and proceedings used in their courts; and extraordinary trials before them.

Original charters of our ancient kings, as Edward the Elder, Edgar, Hardicanute, and Edward the Confessor. The famous Charter of King Edgar, wherein he is styled *Mariæ Brit. Dominus*: which Dr. Hickeshath demonstrated to have been forged after the Norman conquest. A curious book, covered with crimson velvet, and adorned with bosses and hasps of silver gilt and enamelled; the cover and all the leaves indented at the top; containing four original indentures of Covenant, illuminated and embellished with historical miniatures, dated the 16th of July, in the 19th year of King Henry VII. and made between that king and the Abbot and Convent of St. Peter's, Westminster, for certain masses to be for ever after said in the chapel of the Virgin Mary, then determined to be built at the east end of that church, as a place of reception of the bodies of the king, queen, and royal family; and for other purposes. To this indenture book, five broad seals of King Henry VII. preserved in silver boxes, and ornamented with his badges of the portcullis and rose sprigs, are appendant by strings of silk, and gold and silver thread,

IX. Heraldical and armorial books, particularly forms of appointing and crowning kings at arms, and of the establishment of their subordinate officers, tricks of arms, and ensigns armorial. Tracts on the order of the garter, pedigrees of most of the nobility and gentry of England, with notes, monumental and fenestral inscriptions illustrating their family histories.

X. Register-books, chartularies, and other evidences of the estates of our ancient nobility.

XI. Ceremonials, Pomps, and Solemnities ; as the coronations of most of our kings and queens from the time of the Anglo-Saxons, to that of King George II. Public entries, introductions, receptions, and feastings of royal and princely visitors, foreign ambassadors, &c. with the forms of their departures, and accounts of the presents made to them on those occasions. Tilts, journeys, justs, royal masks, and other public entertainments, public processions and cavalcades. Funerals of kings, queens, princes, and great personages allied to the royal family, and also of persons of quality and distinction.

XII. In regard to Wales, here are topographies, descriptions, and general histories of the principality.

Natural and civil histories of several of its counties, surveys of commotes, and extent of lands.

Statutes touching the Lords Marchers, and orders for the observance of the council of Wales.

Transcripts of the laws of Howel Dha ; collections of particular laws and customs prevailing in different parts of the principality ; accounts of the revenue arising from the principality ; lists of fee-farm rents ; and pleas of Quo Warranto upon liberties claimed.

The histories of Welsh heroes, by Threes, and many pedigrees and genealogies of families, with three volumes of useful materials, extracted by Mr. Hugh Thomas from a multitude of public records, and private evidences, in order to his compiling a genealogical history of the nobility and gentry of Wales, and the several families descended from them, now living in England.

XIII. Materials relative to the civil and ecclesiastical history of Scotland.

Descriptions, histories, chronicles, and state of the kingdom.

A remarkable transcript of John Fordun's *Scotochronicon*, and Baston's verses on the battle of Bannocks Bourne, written in the year 1484, for the use of William Schevez, Archbishop of St. Andrews, by his domestic chaplain Magnus Maculloch, a priest of the diocese of Ross, supposed to be either the famous Black Book of Schione, or the St. Andrew's copy, or perhaps the original of both.

The chronicle of Andrew Wintone, in verse. Ker's, Lindsey's and other chronicles.

A fine copy of the chronicle of Mailros.

The life of King David I. written by Alred, Abbot of Rievaulk.

Transcripts of public instruments concerning the vas-



### *Harleian Manuscripts.*

salage of Scotland, and the sovereignty of England over it, which are omitted by Rymer and Harding.

Achievements, arms, pedigrees, &c. of the nobility and principal gentry of Scotland.

The journal of the treaty of union; and a multitude of valuable and interesting papers of state, particularly, a transcript of public instruments concerning the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin of France, letters on sundry occasions from Mary Queen of Scots Lord Burleigh, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Thomas Smith, the Earl of Murray, Queen Elizabeth, &c. and other pieces unnoticed by all writers, but extremely useful in settling many controversial points of the history of that unfortunate princess, and conducive to the disclosing and clearing up the mysterious intrigues carried on during her troubles in France, Scotland, and England.

Historical accounts of the state of the church of Scotland.

XIV. Materials for the history and antiquities of Ireland. As, chorographies of the kingdom, and topographical descriptions of its provinces.

Ancient and other histories, chronicles and annals, ecclesiastical and civil; particularly,

A copy of the history and prophecies of that country, written in the 10th century, and in the old Irish language.

Many curious pedigrees, with the arms and histories of the principal nobility.

A very ancient transcript of two remarkable pieces of the old municipal laws of Ireland, with commentaries and glosses thereon. The text in this manuscript is so very ancient, as to be coeval with the times the pieces relate to. The one being seemingly part of the *Bretaninice*, or *Judicia Cœlestia*, with the trial of Euna, brother to Legarius, chief king of Ireland, for the murder of Orane, chariot driver to St. Patrick, before Dubhthac, the chief *Filadh*, or King's Bard; who, on that solemn occasion, acted as sole Brehon, or judge, with the sentence passed thereon in the year 420. The other, the great sanction or constitution of Nine, made in favour of Christianity in Ireland, Anno 439, by three kings, three bishops, and three sages.

XV. Many ancient copies of the Greek and Latin classics and historians.

XVI. Lexicons, Glossaries, and Dictionaries of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Welsh, Chinese, Persian, Arabic, German, Courlandic, Saxon, English, Spanish, and Turkish languages, particularly the Arabic Dictionary of Abu Naer Ismael, filius Hannad al Farabi, Al-Turki, with the supplement

of Sherfo'ddin, Al-Hasan fili'us Mohamedis, surnamed Alsagani, written in the beginning of the 13th century.

XVII. Chorographies, Antiquities, Histories, Chronicles, &c. of France, and other countries. Elaborate genealogies of their kings, princes, and illustrious houses; and a multitude of tracts and authentic papers, explanatory of their laws, customs, revenues, polity, and government; amongst which are,

*Gesta Francorum in Bello Sacro*, written in the 11th century. A chronicle from Adam, of the 9th century.

*Liubrandi Ticiensis Chronicon*, written in the 10th century.

Also a beautiful transcript of the 4th and last volumes of Froissart's chronicle, elegantly illuminated, and having the subject of each chapter represented in an historical miniature painting, highly finished, and placed at the head of it. The other volumes of this curious work are preserved in the French King's library, and are esteemed among its principal ornaments.

XVIII. Histories of Popes, and the transactions of the See of Rome; particularly three remarkable volumes, the original registers of the Roman chancery, secretly brought from Rome upon the death of Pope Innocent XII. by Mons. Aymone, who was Apostolic Prothonotary of that court. They contain the rules to be observed by the clerks, and obedientiaries of the Roman chancery, in expediting papal bulls, briefs, mandates, dispensations and grants; a list of fines payable by ecclesiastics to the Roman Sec, in all countries under its subjection, on their being admitted to Patriarchal, Metropolitane, Cathedral, or Conventual Churches; fees and fines payable for indulgences, licences, and plenary absolutions, as well in criminal as civil cases; and a variety of other interesting matters, demonstrating the impositions practised to fill the pope's coffers.\*

XIX. A great number of Poems, Essays, Ditties, Ancient Ballads, Plays, and other poetical pieces in almost every modern language; many of them unpublished, and others extremely useful to such as shall undertake to give new and correct editions of the works of such poets, particularly those of our own country as have been already printed. Amongst them are,

A very ancient and fair transcript of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and a copy of his history of *Troilus and Cressida*, the *Knight's Tale*, the *Man of Law's Prologue and Tale*, the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, and the clerk of *Oxenforde's Tale*, neither of which MSS. seem to have been used by the

editors of Chaucer; the text in both differing in many places from all other MSS. of that author, as well as from the printed copies of his poems.

A large volume, being a collection of ancient and valuable poems on curious subjects, by Chaucer, Lydgate, and other English poets; amongst these is a poem of Chaucer's addressed to his empty purse, and consisting of twenty stanzas, though no more than the three first have been published. This poem is the more curious, as it informs us of some circumstances of Chaucer's life little known.

A fair transcript or translation of Lydgate's paraphrase into English verse, of Boccace's treatise *De Occasu Principum*, illuminated and embellished with historical miniature paintings; being the author's present-book to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, by whose command he undertook the work.

Lydgate's lives of St. Edmund and St. Fræmund, with divers of his other poems, illustrated with 120 very elegant historical pictures of different sizes; besides other embellishments of illuminated letters, &c. so as to render it the finest manuscript in the English language, written in the time of King Henry VI. whose book this was, being presented to him by its author.

A large and beautifully illuminated copy of the *Confessio Amantis* of John Gower, containing a collection of the principal pieces of Chaucer and Gower, finely written and ornamented.

An historical, political, and moral poem, consisting of 320 stanzas; the subject is the unfortunate reign of King Edward II. whose ghost is introduced as relating his transactions and disasters. The author, who is supposed to be Mr. Edmund Spenser, addresses this poem to Queen Elizabeth. Also the same poem revised and corrected by many alterations, and fitted up for the perusal of King James I.

A very fair and beautiful transcript of the celebrated poem entitled, *Le Roman de la Rose*, begun in French verse, by William de Lorris, continued and finished by John Clopinel, alias John Moone, of Mewen upon the river Loyer. This manuscript is richly ornamented with a multitude of miniature paintings, executed in the most masterly manner. It is probably the copy which was presented to Henry IV. the blazon of his arms being introduced in the illuminations, with which the first page of this work is embellished.

Many original poems, by John Lydgate, Gower, Trevisa, &c.

XX. A large collection both of ancient and modern musical compositions, with curious anecdotes relating to their authors, written for the most part by Mr. Wanley, by whom they were amassed, he being not only a great judge of music, but a very able composer.

XXI. Books of Architecture, Geometry, Gunnery, Fortification, Ship-building, and Military Affairs; particularly a large volume written in High Dutch, soon after the invention of fire arms, being a treatise on military affairs, illustrated with a great number of fine drawings in water colours, representing the proper forms of marches, encampments and dispositions of armies; orders of battle, attacks, sieges, and storms of forts, towns, and castles; draughts of ships of war, fire-ships, and fleets, bridges of timber and stone, hydraulic engines, tools, instruments, and warlike machines of every kind; and the form of the ancient British chariot.

XXII. Natural History, Agriculture, Voyages, Travels, &c. particularly an Herbarium, written in Saxon, and in the 10th century.

A very valuable volume of Geoponics, in Greek, with Scholia, not hitherto published, written upon silken leaves, and near 500 years old.

XXIII. Many rare MSS. in Astronomy, Cosmography, and Geography.

XXIV. A vast variety of Alchymical, Chymical, Chirurgical, Pharmaceutical, and Medical Tracts, one whereof, being a treatise in High Dutch, on the process for finding the philosopher's stone, formerly belonging to the famous M. Cyprianus, from whose neice, Mrs. Priemer, it was purchased, and presented to Edward E. of Oxford. This book is divided into a great number of chapters; on the back of the last leaf of each chapter the subject thereof is represented in an emblematical picture, in which the beauty of its colouring, the disposition of the figures, the elegance of their attitudes, and the propriety of composition is scarcely to be equalled.

XXV. A great number of volumes of original letters, and authentic transcripts of others, written as well by sundry persons who have been eminent for their high stations in the state, as by those who were remarkable for their literary accomplishments.

Lastly, a prodigious variety of MSS. which, exclusive of their importance in other respects, are highly valuable on account of the many beautiful illuminations and excellent paintings; those pictures being not only useful for illustrating

the subject of the books in which they are placed, but furnishing excellent lessons and useful hints to painters, perpetuating the representations of the principal personages, buildings, utensils, habits, armour, and manners of the age in which they were painted, and very probably preserving some pieces of eminent painters, of whose works no other remains are extant. Some of these MSS. have already been occasionally mentioned, and to them must be added;

A most noble copy of Bishop Grossthead's *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, every page whereof is decorated with admirable pictures explanatory of its contents.

A translation of *Valerius Maximus* into French, by Simon de Hesdin, and Nicolas de Gonesse, comprised in four large volumes, with fine historical paintings placed at the head of each book, representing the principal subjects treated of therein; together with another copy of the four last books of the same work, embellished with paintings in the like manner, and by the same hand as the former.

A most noble volume, consisting of the *Antiquities of the Greeks and Romans*, represented in paintings.

A volume, entitled, *Le Tresor de Maistre Jehan de Meun*, with paintings.

The four elements and four seasons, painted by J. Bailly and intended as patterns of tapestry for the French king.

1763, *April, May, July, August.*

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#### IV. Signification of Words, how varied.

MR. URBAN,

ONE of the most peculiar circumstances relating to language is the mutation of the sense of words, in different ages, so that the same word to which a good meaning was formerly affixed, may now have a signification directly opposite. This happens so universally, that, I believe, no language, whether ancient or modern, has been exempted from it; but the change proceeds so slowly and insensibly, that the life of one man is not sufficient to afford him an opportunity of perceiving the change. With regard to our own language, if we look into those authors who flourished a century and a half ago, numerous instances will occur; and the reading of the following passage in Turberville's 2d Eclogue, a gentleman who was educated at Oxford, and wrote in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, led me into this observation.

Among the rest of all the route,  
 A passing proper *lass*,  
 A white-hair'd *trull* of twenty yeares,  
 Or neere about, there was;  
 In stature passing all the rest,  
 A gallant *girl* for hewe;  
 To be compar'd to townish *nymphs*,  
 So faire she was to viewe.  
 Her forehead cloth with gold was purld  
 A little, here and there;  
 With copper clasp about her neck  
 A kerchief did she weare,  
 That reached to her breast and paps;  
 The *wench* about her waist,  
 A gallant gaudy ribande had,  
 That girt her body fast.

Here we find the poet in describing an innocent country beauty, does not scruple to call her a *trull*, which now signifies a strumpet. Dr. Swift says,

So Mævius, when he drained his skull,  
 To celebrate some suburb *trull*:  
 His similies in order set,  
 And ev'ry crambo he could get;  
 And gone thro' all the common places,  
 Worn out by wits who rhyme on faces;  
 Before he could his poem close,  
 The lovely nymph had lost her nose.

In the same manner Turberville puts *wench* for a *young woman*, which is now rarely used, but by way of contempt, and seems to be threatened with the same fate that *trull* has received. The alteration of *knave*, which formerly signified 'a servant,' and of *villain*, 'a sort of slave,' is generally known. *Pedant* anciently meant 'a schoolmaster;' thus Shakespeare in his Twelfth Night mentions

"A *pedant* that keeps a school i'th' church."

But this word now gives an idea of a stiff, formal, and unpollished man of literature. Thus Addison in his Whig Examiner:

"The remaining part of the preface has so much of the *pedant*, and so little of the conversation of man in it, that I shall pass over it."

And Swift,

In learning let a nymph delight,  
The *pedant* gets a mistress by't.

In like manner, *leech* anciently signified a ' physician :

And straightway sent with careful diligence,  
To fetch a *leech*, the which had great insight  
In that disease of grieved conscience ;  
And well could cure the same : his name was *Patience*.

*Spenser's Fairy Queen.*

Even Dryden uses it in this sense :

Wise *leeches* will not vain receipts obtrude,  
While growing pains pronounce the humours crude ;  
Deaf to complaints they wait upon the ill,  
'Till some safe crisis authorise their skill.

Roscommon has thus described the insect which has now usurped this name by being used in bleeding :

Sticking like *leeches* till they burst with blood.

*Leechcraft* was also used for *physic* :

We study speech, but others we persuade,  
We *leechcraft* learn, but others cure with it.  
*Sir John Davis.*

" The word *dame*," says Dr. Watts, in his Logic, " originally signified a mistress of a family, who was a lady, and it is used still in the English law to signify a *lady* ; but in common use now-a-days it represents a farmer's wife, or a mistress of a family of the lower rank in the country."

Though the cause of such mutations may be principally ascribed to the caprice of mankind, yet much may be imputed to words being debased by vulgar use. An instance of this kind we have in the word *lawyer*, a name vulgarly given to every the meanest pettifogger ; every farrier, little apothecary, or surgeon's mate, is also commonly honoured with the title of *doctor* ; even chimney doctors are become frequent. So that *doctor* and *lawyer* will, perhaps, in time undergo the same change, with *leech* and *pedant*, though *physician* and *counsellor* still retain their dignity.

However, it is hoped, that our language will be more fixed, and better established when the public is favoured

with a new dictionary, undertaken with that view, and adapted to answer several other valuable purposes; a work now in great forwardness.

1749, Feb.

W. S.

V. The sense of IMPROBUS, as used in Virgil.

——— Labor omnia vincit

*Improbis.*

*Virg. Geo. I. 145.*

SCARCELY any passage in Virgil is more commonly quoted, and yet none seems to be so little understood. It has passed almost into a proverb; and the verb is usually expressed in the present tense, and the sense affixed to it by all the commentators, and all the translators that I have seen, is, *Hard labour surmounts all difficulties*. Upon the single authority of this place, all our dictionaries likewise have agreed to render IMPROBUS, *hard, excessive, constant*.

To justify this sense of the word, Dr. Trapp refers his reader to another passage in Virgil, *Æneid* xii. 687.

Fertur in abruptum magno mons *improbis* actu,  
Exultatque solo.

Here, says he, *mons improbus* is the *huge mountain*.

But why may not *improbis* be used here in one of its ordinary significations for *destructive, mischievous, pernicious*? The following words,

——— Sylvas, armenta, virosque

Involvens secum,

describing the mischiefs occasioned by its fall, prove that it ought to be so understood. Thus *improbis anser*, *Georg.* I. 118. *Improbis anguis*, *Georg.* III. 431, are the *mischievous gander* and *snake*.

In the passage before us, *improbis* is the same as *impius*, wicked, as will be evident to any one that will but read the foregoing lines, beginning at the line 121,

——— Pater ipse colendi

*Hand facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem*  
*Movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda;*

where Jupiter is represented by the poet as designing to



render husbandry a work of difficulty. Before his time the ground stood in no need of culture :

Ante Jovem nulli subigebant arva coloni, &c.  
Ille malum virus serpentibus addidit atris.

To relieve themselves from these mischiefs brought upon them by Jupiter, mankind had recourse to various inventions :

Tum variæ venere artes.

And this their opposition to the will of Jupiter, which, in the opinion of the poet, was no less than *impious*, prevailed over all obstacles, and made the art of tillage easier than Jupiter at first intended it should be.

—————Labor omnia vincit  
*Improbis.*

Parallel to this, is that passage of Horace,

Necquicquam Deus abscidit  
Prudens oceano dissociabiles  
Terras, si tamen *impie*  
Non tangenda rates transilient vada.

The sailors are here called *impious*, because in passing the seas they opposed the will of Jupiter, who designed they should have been *non tangenda*, 'impassable.'

MARONIDES.

1749, *March.*

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## VI. On the Rebus and Ænigma.

MR. URBAN,

NO small number of your friends and correspondents, I observe, are employed about that species of the Ænigma, or Riddle, called a *Rebus*; for no sooner has one part of them be enracking their invention to envelope some plain name in a dark and puzzling colour; but others are immediately exerting their sagacity to decypher it, and trying to crack the shell: and you, Sir, from the benignity of your temper, are disposed to gratify both parties, at least so far as you are able, by inserting in your monthly entertainment their innocent amusements, for amusements they are, and innocent,

which surely is saying a great deal; but I may add, for the pleasure and satisfaction of their admirers, that they are withal very ancient. For passing by the monkish ages, which hardly deserve the name of antiquity, and that large harvest which the heralds afford, and of which enough may be read in Camden's Remains, there want not instances of these allusions, this sporting with words, this mixture of words and things, even in the remotest times. To give a few examples:

History tells us, that Cyrus the Great was nursed by a *bitch*, that is, as I apprehend it, his nurse's name was *Spaca*, which, in the language of the Medes, as Herodotus informs us, signified a *bitch*; and so it does at this day in the Hyrcanian tongue, according to Tanaq. Faber, in his commentary upon Justin, Lib. i. We have a similar example, and much better known, in the Roman history; the two brothers, Romulus and Remus were suckled by a *wolf*. See Livy, Lib. i. The truth was, that the good woman's name who took them to her breast was *Lupa*. "Sunt," says Livy, "qui Larentiam, vulgato corpore, Lupam inter pastores vocatam putent: unde locum fabulæ ac miraculo datum." Lactantius makes great use of this confession of Livy, and thereupon reports the following Grecian story, very much to our purpose, of one Leæna, who had been instrumental in destroying Hipparchus: she was a strumpet, and because it was improper to erect a statue of a woman of her character in the temple, the Athenians placed the effigy of a *lioness* there, according to the import of her name.

Nobody needs desire a truer rebus than that of Virgil, Eclog. III.

Dic quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum  
Nascantur flores;

alluding to the hyacinth, which takes its name, as the fables relate, from Hyacinthus, a favourite youth, accidentally killed by Apollo. See Ruæus, or Dr. Martin, from whom it appears that the flower bore both the character of Hyacinth and of Ajax.

There is another as clear in the second book of that masterly piece, the *Æthiopics* of Heliodorus, a work which certainly deserves a better edition. It is the story of Chariclea and Theagenes, and the author very appositely introduces the priestess of Apollo delivering an oracle (and nothing could be better adapted to the manner of the ancient oracles) in these artificial and ambiguous terms, alluding to the composition of their respective names:

Την χάριν ἐν πρώτοις, αὐτὰρ κλεος ὕστατ' ἐχυσαν,  
Φραζέσθ', ὦ Διῖλοι, τὸν τε θεὸς γενετήν.

Χαῖρις, κλεος, *Chariclea*.  
Θεὸς γενετής, *Theogenes*.

Sigonius has\* engraved and explained a coin of Julius Cæsar's, (which is indeed common enough) with an *elephant* upon it, because the word Cæsar in the Punic language, as is testified both by Servius and Spartian, denoted an *elephant*.

But what is most remarkable, some of the fathers of the church, called our Saviour ἰχθύς, piscis, Tertullianus de Baptismo, p. 124, the letters of which word are severally the initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς θεὸς υἱὸς σωτήρ.

And to name no more, of the same kind is that expression of *the number of the beast*, Rev. xiii. 18, which, ch. xv. 2, is called *the number of his name*, where the sublime author follows the ancient custom of representing the name by numerals, as on the contrary *number* was often expressed by artificial names.—Thus the technical words Μειθρας and Αβραξας meant the sun, because the component letters numerically taken amounted to 365, that is, 365 days, in which the sun finished his annual course: The Greek word Νειλος, the river Nile, in like manner expresses the number 365, as is particularly taken notice of by the admirable author above-mentioned. Heliodorus, Lib. ix. This was according to the Greeks; for otherwise Μειθρας and Νειλος, had an etymology and signification of their own. The Basilidian heretics were fond of these fictitious names, and were the coiners of that barbarous word Abraxas, by which, as St. Hierome thinks, they meant Mithras, and which, with its companions Μειθρας and Νειλος is to be resolved thus:

A	M	N	1	40	50
B	E	E	2	5	5
P	I	I	100	10	10
A	Θ	Δ	1	9	30
Ξ	P	O	60	100	70
A	Α	Σ	1	1	200
Σ	Σ		200	200	
			365	365	365

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

1753, Jan.

PAUL GEMSEGR.

MR. URBAN,

WHEREAS the Spectator\* of glorious and immortal memory, has tried and convicted the *Rebus* of a complication of crimes, of ignorance, false taste, and folly; and condemned it for a spurious and unnatural excrescence of wit; in pursuance of which condemnation it ought immediately to have been banished these kingdoms, and never to have appeared here again.

And whereas, notwithstanding the censure and condemnation it then received, it begins to make a fresh appearance and to meet with a kind reception and visible encouragement in your Magazine: it is therefore high time, in order to curb and restrain this growing evil, and to prevent the further effusion of all such spurious wit, and elaborate trifles, to enter into an inquiry after the origin and name, as well as the nature of a *Rebus*; and to bring it once more forth, and to expose it to open view, and to make a public example of it, that so they who are guilty of such a profanation of wit may be ashamed any longer to persist therein, and they who are yet innocent, may, by their example, learn to beware.

The word *Rebus* is taken from the ablative case plural of the noun *Res*, and in its literal sense denotes the intimation, or signification, a man gives of his opinion, affection, or intention, by *things*, instead of *words*, and the making material and visible objects the interpreters of our hearts, and the signs and tokens of the ideas which (without words) we would communicate to any of our fellow-creatures.

Where words are wanting, or where men of two different languages meet together; or where words either spoken or written are liable to be fished out, or intercepted; or where we are inclined to convey our minds in a manner more especially striking and emphatical; on these and all such like occasions, significant emblems and expressive signs are either absolutely necessary or highly convenient; and it many times so falls out that a visible model, a rude sketch, or imperfect delineation, causes a quicker apprehension, a deeper impression, and a stronger conviction than the most literal descriptions, or florid metaphors are able to produce. In any such case a *Rebus* was proper and beautiful, and fully answered the above-mentioned etymology of the word and end, and design for which it was made use of, and herein

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\* Vol. I. No. 59.

its true nature did consist; but afterwards models and copies of things, as well as originals, and gestures and actions, as well as sensible objects, came by use and custom to be reckoned in the same class, and to pass under the general denomination of a *Rebus*. To give you a few instances of these several kinds of a *Rebus*,—

When King Darius sent to the Scythians to demand earth and water, instead of a verbal reply, they sent him a *bird*, a *frog*, and a *mouse*, together with *five arrows*, leaving him to extract their answer from these symbols; and, as I remember, Buchanan, in his History of Scotland, tells us, that when a friend of Robert Bruce wanted to draw him away from the English court to Scotland, he sent him a pair of spurs and ten broad pieces.

Another kind of Rebus is either an actual model, or a representation in basso relievo, or a graphical delineation in shades and colours, of *animals*, *rivers*, *trees*, *mountains*, or *castles*, in the manner of the Egyptian hieroglyphics; where these copies are either carved, engraved, or painted; and the sense and meaning of the author is to be gathered from a judicious interpretation, and apt connection of these figures.

A third species of a *Rebus* is, when pregnant actions are performed, and gestures made use of, expressive and significant of the secret sentiments, advice, and admonition of the authors of them; under which class that action of Tarquin in striking off the heads of the most eminent poppies in his garden, will for ever remain an illustrious example.

To these three species of mental interpretation, or dumb expression, we freely allow the word *Rebus* to be truly and properly applied, and under these precise limits we absolutely confine and restrain the word. According, therefore, to this standard thus formed and established, let us now consider and examine the modern *Rebus*, so frequent in the magazines, and see how well it agrees and tallies therewith.

Now in order to the formation and construction of a modern *Rebus*, a word or name of some place, person, or object, must be sought out and made choice of, which when found and fixed upon, must be laid down and stretched forth in order for an anatomical dissection. It may consist of two, three, or four syllables, the more the merrier, then it must be disjointed and laid open in all its parts. If a compound, the several ingredients of that composition are to be separated one from another, to be laid apart and examined distinctly. If it be no compound, then it is to be resolved into its syllables, and afterwards into its simple elements; the vowels are to be considered in one light, the consonants in another;

the letters are to be surveyed in their natural order, then in their numerical capacity, then with a view to the word or words they are able to produce, by inversion or transposition in their own or any foreign tongue, in any living or dead language. Thus is the poor word forced to undergo a most dreadful inquisition, to be cast into a variety of forms, and examined under every different shape and posture it is able to endure; it is put to the rack and mangled and tortured without mercy, neither is it suffered to have a moment's rest, so long as there is the least sense of life, or drop of blood remaining in it.

If the three or four initial letters of that word happen in the same order to be three or four initial letters of some other word, whether belonging to land, sea, air, or fire, to animal or vegetable, to any art, science, or profession, or whether belonging to the French, Greek, Latin, or our own mother tongue; and if the things themselves couched under those words, be as wide from, and as contrary to each other, as light is to darkness, and truth to falshood, yet you are to take two or three quarters of that (not *thing* but) word, which in like manner added to other parts of other words, which happen to agree in the same letters, till you have by this means gone through the whole word, and then after joining and cementing all these parts, thus collected into one word, you are called upon and invited to a *wild goose chase*\*, to trace out and extract the wonderful mystery that lies covered and enveloped under this cloud of words; and this ænigma, thus formed and constructed, when covered over with a poetical dress, and tagged with rhyme, is thenceforth dignified and distinguished by the style and title of a *Rebus*; a name as properly derived from *Res*, and applied to such conundrums, as *Lucus* is from *Lux*, *quia, non lucet*.

An example will fully illustrate this affair: the word *Birmingham*, after it is properly dissected and disjointed, will appear thus, *Bir-min-g-ham*; then say,

Take three-fourths of a creature which many admire,  
That is often confined in a castle of wire;  
Three-fourths of an herb that a garden doth yield,  
And a term used by husbandmen ploughing the field;  
With that part of a swine that is now much in fashion,  
And a town you'll discover in this brave English nation.

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\* *Wild gonf's chase*, we are informed, is the right expression. *E.*

From which poetical composition, if you are endowed with a proper degree of sagacity, and a great share of patience, you may at length extract the several constituents of the word *Birmingham*, and after having unravelled the important mystery, and forced the citadel, notwithstanding all its deep intrenchments, you may then, in an extasy of joy, cry Εὐρηκα, and be amply rewarded for your pains and trouble by the satisfaction of so happy a discovery. A modern Rebus therefore is a flat contradiction, pretending to deal with *things*, when all the while it is concerned only in letters, syllables, and words; it is nothing but a mere shadow of a species of false wit; it has no foundation in nature, but only in the mere arbitrary formation and casual similitude of words; its subsistence is entirely precarious and liable to be lost and destroyed, together with the words on which it depends; do but offer to translate a Rebus into another language, and the charm is immediately dissolved, and the wit, whatever there was, is all vanished into smoke.—I would, therefore, recommend the study and composition of the modern Rebus to men whose knowledge is confined to words, and no ways conversant in *things*, whose senses lead them to thrash, sift, and grind words down to powder, and thence to work them up again into whatever form or similitude they please; I would likewise recommend to their care the Anagram and Acrostic, and suffer them in good weather, as often as they please, to amuse and divert themselves with the echo: in doing which they will follow some great examples, and I would have them henceforth known and distinguished by the style and title of *word catchers*.

And as for you, Mr. Urban, I think you would act a judicious part, and agreeable to the majority of your readers, if you would lay all the *Ænigmas*, *Conundrums*, *Anagrams*, and *Acrostics*, by themselves, together with all the *Rebuses*, that your correspondents furnish you with, and, when they rise to a sufficient number, to publish them in a supplement separate from your other *Magazines*, by which means other more useful materials may be inserted in their room, and *your Magazine* may be free from the imputation of delighting in and encouraging any such low and spurious productions, and wretched pretensions to taste and wit. If you approve of and comply with this request, you will very much oblige

Your humble servant,

1753, *July*.

MISO-GOTH.

## VII. TEXT and GLOSS, whence derived.

MR. URBAN,

THE busy and inquisitive nature of man is not content with knowing things are so, but will be prying into the causes and occasion of them; and this curiosity, which is certainly very laudable, when restrained within proper bounds extends even to languages, in which there is hardly a word, a metaphor, or an allusion, but what we want to know the bottom and original of; for, though the meaning of the several expressions be well enough understood, that does not satisfy, but we are desirous of knowing, at the same time, *how* they came to import such and such things. Hence arise philology, etymology, annotations upon authors, books of rhetoric, and the like helps of literature, which, since the restoration of it, about 300 years ago, have been so well received in the world.

There are few, for example, who are ignorant of the sense and meaning of the word *text*, but how it grew to signify the *word of God*, many, perhaps, would be glad to know. We have it from the Romans, who, from the similitude subsisting between spinning and weaving, and the art of composing, both in verse and prose, applied to the latter several expressions proper to the former; hence Horace,

— tenui deducta poemata filo,

and Cicero, *texere orationem*, and *contexere carmen*. Amongst the later Roman writers *textus* occurs often in the sense of a *piece* or *composition*, and *κατ' ἐξοχήν* came to denote *the word of God*, just as the general word *scriptura* also did. But this is not all; the method of writing the scriptures (and some few other books) before the art of printing was invented, was thus, as I here represent it, from an old MS. of the New Testament, of the vulgate version, now before me.

## MATTHEW vii. 23.

Et tunc confitebor illis, quia

Non novit lux tenebras i. non aspicit, quas si aspiceret, tenebras non essent.

in nullo approbavi, sed reprobavi.

nunquam novi vos. dis-

cedite a me omnes qui opera-

quia  
non hos novit, ergo eos qui mandata ejus custodiunt.  
mini iniquitatem.

qui operamini: non  
dicit eis operati estis,  
ne tollat penitentiam,  
sed qui in judicio, licet  
non habeatis facili-  
tem peccandi tamen  
habitis affectum.



The sentences at the sides are the *gloss*; the middle, which is in a larger hand, is the *text*; and between the lines of that, is put the *interlineary gloss*, in which place a translation or version in some ancient MSS. in the Cottonian and other libraries, is sometimes inserted. The *text* here means the *word of God*, as opposed to the *gloss*, both the *lateral* and the *interlineary gloss*; and because the text was usually written, as in this MS. in a very large and masterly hand, from thence, a large and strong hand of that sort came to be called *text hand*.—By *gloss* is meant a commentary or exposition, generally taken out of the Latin fathers, St. Hieronyme, St. Augustine, &c. It is originally a Greek word, and at first meant a single word put to explain another, as appears from the ancient Greek and Latin *glossaries*, but afterwards it came to signify any exposition or larger commentary. From hence are derived our English expressions, *to put a gloss upon a thing*, that is, a favourable interpretation or construction; *gloss*, ‘a fair shining outside;’ and *to gloze*, ‘to flatter.’

Yours, &c.

Whittington, Oct. 19, 1753.  
1753, Oct.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

#### VIII. On the ancient STRINX as described in Virgil's Eclogues.

MR. URBAN,

AS I now and then peep into a classic, there occurs to me a difficulty in the perusal of Virgil's eclogues; and, being one of those who are desirous of understanding what they read, I beg leave to propose it in your Magazine.

It is not difficult at all to conceive, in what manner the ancients united the voice with the lyre or other string music, for the one could easily accompany the other, and consequently the same person might perform with both at the same time. The word *ψάλλω* signifies to sing to, or with, the lyre, and from thence come *psalmus*, and *psaltria*.

When Horace, lib. IV. Ode xiii. says,

Doctæ psallere Chiæ,

Mons. Dacier writes upon it, ‘Notre langue n'a point de mot qui explique le *psallere* des Grecs et des Latins, qui se dit proprement d'une personne qui chante et qui joue en

même temps d'un instrument.' So Heliodorus, lib. 1. *Θισβην παιδισκαριον τη αυτη, ψαλλειν τε προς κιθαραν επισημαινον, και, &c.* But then how the same persons, amongst the ancient Greeks and Romans, both piped and sung together, is not so easy to determine, and yet we are very sure that the rustics, the shepherds and swains, did this. They could not sing and play with the same breath, we are sensible, but the words must either follow the music, or the music the words, which is the very question I desire to start; but before I deliver my own opinion upon it, I shall establish the fact, by showing that amongst the old shepherds the pipe and the song were usually conjoined; for the doing of which I shall not need to go any further than the five first eclogues, though the same kind of proofs may be drawn from the others, as will appear to the curious upon trial.

Ecl. 1. l. 2. Melibœus, says to Tityrus,

Sylvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena.

*Avena* here is the pipe; Montfaucon makes a difference between *Avena* and *Fistula*, but I take it that *Avena*, *Calamus*, *Arundo*, *Cicuta*, &c. all mean, by a common metonymy of the matter for the instrument, the *Fistula* or the pipe; not the single but the compound one, or the *Syrinx*, which consisted of six or seven single pipes, and sometimes more, all fastened together. The *Syrinx*, was the usual instrument of the shepherds, as appears from Ecl. II. 31. seq. 36. seq. Ovid. Metam. xiii. 784. Theocrit. Idyll. viii. 18. *Musa* is the words or song, and it is evident that he sung words at the same time that he played, from what follows,

Formosam resonare doces Amaryllida sylvas.

Where Melibœus informs us of the subject of Tityrus's song, namely, his mistress Amaryllis, whom yet he did not celebrate without his pipe, as is clear from his answer;

Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum  
Ludere quæ vellem calamo permisit agresti.

Ecl. II. Corydon pours out his complaint, but he used the pipe with his voice, as is plain from the following passages;

Mecum una in sylvis imitabere Pana canendo,  
Pan primus calamos cera conjungere plures  
Instituit :

*Critical Remarks on Virgil.*

Again,

Nec te pœniteat calamo trivisse labellum.  
Hæc eadem ut sciret, quid non faciebat Amyntas?  
Est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis  
Fistula, Damœtas dono mihi quam dedit olim.

Hæc eadem ut sciret—he means the tune and not the words, which Amyntas could have nothing to do with. Corydon must be supposed to use the pipe with his song, for Menalcas giving Mopsus a pipe, Ecl. V. says,

Hæc te nos fragili donabimus ante cicuta.  
Hæc nos, Formosum Corydon ardebat Alexim:  
Hæc eadem docuit, Cujum pecus? an Melibœi?

These being the first lines of the 2d and 3d Eclogues, and consequently denoting those Eclogues, this passage imports, that these very Eclogues of Virgil, and I presume the Idyllia of Theocritus in like manner, are to be understood as learnt by the shepherds, and sung to the pipe; that the shepherds are not to be imagined to sing always *extempore*, but sometimes to make use of compositions, and even tunes, previously composed; sometimes the compositions of others, and sometimes their own, as Ecl. V.

Immo hæc, in viridi nuper quæ cortice fagi  
Carmina descripsi, et modulans alterna notavi,  
Experiâr.

And again,

——— ista  
Jâmpridem Stimicon laudavit carmina nobis.

The particular tune appropriate to a piece, you find mentioned, Ecl. ix. 45.

—— Numeros memini, si verba tenerem.

Ecl. III. Damœtas intimates that in his contest with Damon he had sung and played together.

An mihi cantando victus non redderet ille,  
Quem mea carminibus meruisset fistula, caprum?

And Menalcas, speaking of the same contest, joins singing and playing.

Cantando tu illum? aut unquam tibi fistula cera  
Juncta fuit?

And then adds to the same effect,

— Non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas  
Stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?

where the pipe and the verse occur united again, and he sneers at his playing as well as his composition. I conceive that the *Amœbara* which follows in that *Eclogue* between these two antagonists, was sung by them to the pipe; for *Damœtas* upon this sneer immediately challenges *Menalcas*, and consequently intended to dispute the prize with him in both respects.

*Ecl. V.* *Mopsus* was excellent at piping, *Menalcas* at singing; but it does not follow that the first did not sing, and the other did not play; all that can be said, is that *Mopsus* was not so good at singing, as he was at playing; nor *Menalcas* so good at playing, as he was at singing. This I say is all that is intended by the two first lines of this *Eclogue*.

Cur non, Mopse, boni quoniam convenimus ambo,  
Tu calamos inflare leves, ego dicere versus, &c.

for *Menalcas* expressly calls upon *Mopsus* for a song:

Incipe, Mopse, prior; si quos aut *Phyllidis* ignes,  
Aut *Alconis* habes laudes, aut jurgia *Codri*.

and *Mopsus* answers,

Immo hæc, in viridi nuper quæ cortice fagi  
Carmina descripsi, et modulans alterna notavi,  
Experiar.

And then follows the monody upon *Daphnis*. *Mopsus* both sung and played, for *Menalcas* says at the conclusion of his performance,

Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poëta,  
Quale sopor fessis in gramine —  
Nec calamis solum æquiparas, sed voce magistrum.

The fact I think is clear; and since it is impossible to blow and sing at the same time, the question arises, whether the voice went first, or the tune? It is certainly most natural that the strain should be played first, but I know of no positive authority for it. However, I shall content myself with thinking

so, till I see some proof of the contrary. Some, perhaps, may fancy, that the words were not adapted to the tune, but that the music came in independently, by way of interlude, between every verse, or every distich, &c. but the words in the vth Ecl.

Immo hæc, in viridi nuper quæ cortice fagi  
Carmina descripsi, et modulans alterna notavi,  
Experiar—

and those others in the ixth, 45.

—Numeros memini, si verba tenerem—

shew evidently, that the words were modulated to a tune; were *set*, and that the music was not interposed only at certain breaks, or at the ends of the stanza.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

1753, *Suppl.*

PAUL GEMSEGE.

MR. URBAN,

IN your last Supplement, the ingenious Mr. Gemsege has started a difficulty in Virgil's Eclogues, where the shepherds are described as piping and singing at the same time. If their pipes were blown with the mouth, as Menalcas in the third Eclogue seems to intimate; they could not possibly sing and play with the same breath: therefore I am of opinion that in such a case they first played over the tune, and then sung a verse, or stanza of the song answering thereto; and so played and sung alternately; which manner of playing and singing is very common with the pipers and fiddlers at our country wakes, &c. who might perhaps originally borrow the custom from the Romans, during their residence in Britain.

But Mr. Gemsege observes, that the *Syrinx*, which was the usual instrument of the shepherds, was not a single pipe, but a compound one which consisted of six or seven single pipes, and sometimes more, all fastened together; and Corydon, in the second Eclogue, says, that Pan first taught to join several reeds together with wax; or, as Dryden has translated it—'Pan taught to join with wax unequal reeds,'—or reeds of different tones. From whence I conjecture, that the *Syrinx* was an instrument somewhat like the bagpipe, and was blown with bellows, or something of that kind; if so, the music might easily accompany the song, and the same person perform both together.

And I think it is highly probable, that the compound pipe, or Syrnix of the Roman shepherds, was the original of, or gave birth to, the bagpipe amongst the Britons. I am the more inclined to this opinion, as the bagpipe continues to be the favourite music of the country people in Great Britain, and particularly in Scotland, to this day.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1754, *Feb.*

SYLVIVS.

MR. URBAN,

I CAN readily agree with Sylvius, that the Syrnix might give occasion to the bagpipe, by leading the way to its invention; for it was certainly very natural, both for ease in playing, and for the saving of breath, and even for the health and safety of the performer's lungs, to contrive a method of conveying wind to the several pipes by means of bellows. This was so obvious, and at the same time so useful, that the ancients, I think, could not well miss it. And from thence afterwards gradually arose that capital instrument, the organ. But I doubt the bagpipe, though it be unquestionably an old instrument, since, in the opinion of Salmasius, it is alluded to in these verses,

Copa Syrissa caput Graia redimita mitella,  
Crispum sub crotalo docta movere latus,  
Ebria famosa saltat lasciva tabella,  
Ad cubitum raucos excutiens calamos,

yet did not rise so high in antiquity as these Virgilian shepherds, and consequently that the Syrnix was not played by them like a bagpipe, whatever it might be in after times. Nay; I think it may be proved to demonstration, that they used their mouths in performing on this instrument, for Corydon in the 2d Eclogue, immediately after speaking of the invention of the Syrnix by Pan, and the performances of that god;

Mecum una in silvis imitabere Pana canendo.  
Pan primus calamos cœra conjungere plures  
Instituit: Pan curat oves, oviumque magistros,

subjoins,

Nec te pœniteat calamo trivisse labellum,

where Dryden gives,

Nor scorn the pipe,——, &c.

which affords indeed the sense or import of the passage, but does by no means satisfy the learned antiquary, who is expressly taught in this place that the Syrix was played with the mouth; it may therefore be rather translated,

Then blush not thou with reeds to wear thy lip.

To all which I beg leave to add, that Polyphemus's pipe was a Syrix, and is described as such by Ovid. *Metamorph.* xiii. 784. and he was wont to carry it hung to his neck by a string; for so Virgil, speaking of this monster, says,

————— Ea sola voluptas,  
Solamenque mali; de collo fistula pendet.  
Æn. iii. 660.

where Dryden has it,

His pond'rous whistle from his neck descends.

I suppose he means *depends*; but however this be, this way of wearing the pipe is entirely inconsistent with the method of carrying a bagpipe, which I really believe was not invented so early, at least was not played on, either by the Sicilian, the Arcadian, or the Maronian shepherds; but to crown all, there is a figure in Montfaucon, B. iii. p. 271. playing on the Syrix, and he evidently puts it to his mouth. But though I do not concur with Sylvius in his opinion, I am obliged to him nevertheless for his attempt to explain this matter, as indeed I shall be to any gentleman that will give us his thoughts on the difficulty I proposed.

Yours, &c.

1754, April

PAUL GEMSEGE.

## IX. On the EIKON BASILIKÈ.

MR. URBAN,

THE gentleman, who writes his thoughts upon that odd Greek verse in the title page of *Eikon Basilikè*,

*Το Χρὶς ἡδικήσεν τὴν πόλιν ὑδὲ τὸ Καππα.*

encourages any one who does not approve his solution to exhibit one more natural and rational. Such an one I think may be found in a translation more literal, "Christ did no wrong to the city, or state, neither did Charles."

To shew how natural a sense this is, let it only be observed that one of the reproaches cast upon our Saviour, was, that he was an enemy to the civil interests of his country. "If we let him alone, all men will believe on him; and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation. John xi. 48. If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend. John xix. 12." So it was alleged against Charles the First, that his intention was to govern without parliament, to make orders of council equally obligatory with statute laws, to raise money without the help of parliaments, by loans, writs for ship money, and other illegal methods. Now, says his advocate in this line, "as the censure of our Saviour was unjust, so was that of the king." And it may be remarked in confirmation of my opinion, that since the Restoration many have taken pains to draw a parallel between them, in the righteousness of their cause, the malignity of their enemies, and their own meekness and patience.

Let me be permitted to add upon this occasion, that, in the year 1686, when the Earl of Anglesey's books were selling by auction, this book presented itself among others; the bidders being cold, the company had time to turn over the leaves; and there they found a declaration under his lordship's own hand, that King Charles the Second and the Duke of York, both assured him that it was not of the king's own compiling, but made by Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exon. This made a noise; and Dr. Walker being questioned about it, as known to be very intimate with Gauden, he owned that the bishop had imparted to him the plan in the beginning, and several chapters actually composed; and that he, on the other hand, had disapproved the imposing in such a manner on the public. If any doubt yet remains with the reader, I am to add that one North, a merchant of London, a man of good credit, married the bishop's son's lady's sister,



and after young Gauden's death his papers came into North's hands, being his brother-in-law. There he found one packet relating entirely to *Eikon Basilikè*, containing among other things, original letters, and a narrative written by Dr. Gauden's own wife. Shall I add by way of confirmation, that if I remember right (for I have not the book by me) bishop Burnet, in the History of his Life and Times, tells us, that as he had once an occasion to quote *Eikon Basilikè*, when in conference with King Charles the Second, and the Duke of York, they both declared that their father never wrote that book, but that it was written by Gauden, whom they rewarded with a bishoprick.

I am, yours, &c.

*Somerset, March 5, 1754.*

P.

N.B. The reader is referred to Toland's and Richardson's Life of Milton, and Bayle's General Dictionary.

[We have published the foregoing letter principally because it has contracted into a very small space, the whole force of whatever can be produced to prove that the *Eikon Basilikè*, was not written by King Charles I. As the question has been lately revived, we wish that some of our correspondents would contract the arguments, on the other side, into the same compass.]

1754, *March.*

MR. URBAN,

I HAVE endeavoured to answer your correspondent who signs P. within the compass you prescribed, and am,

Sir, yours, &c.

X.

As there can be no connection between the sense of the Greek line prefixed to the *Eikon Basilikè*, and the authenticity of that piece, I shall only insert Dr. South's opinion of the parallels which have been drawn between Christ and King Charles, and hastily condemned, not as indecent only, but blasphemous. "Is it blasphemy to compare the king to Christ in that respect, in which Christ was made like him? or can he be like us in all things, and we not like him? Certainly there was something in that providence which so long ago appointed the chapter of our Saviour's passion to be read on the day of the king's; and, I am sure, the resemblance is so near, that had he lived before him, he might have been a type of him."

### *Eikon Basilikè.*

To the declaration signed by Lord Anglesey, that Charles II. and the Duke of York assured him the *Eikon Basilikè* was not the king's, may be opposed, the public testimony of both Charles II. and James II. to the contrary, under the great seal, in their patent to Mr. Royston, for printing all the works of Charles I. and this surely deserves greater credit than a private memorandum unattested, purporting it to be written with a view that it could not answer. I assert this, says Lord Anglesey, to undeceive others: but if his intention had been to undeceive others, why did he leave his declaration in the privacy of his study, on a single leaf that might be obliterated or torn out; where indeed it was known to exist but by accident, the slow sale of the book affording time to the company to turn over the leaves? why did he not authenticate his declaration by proper witnesses, and publish it to the world, or leave it in some trusty hand, with a charge to publish it at some more convenient season?

As to Gauden's pretensions to this book, they are easily to be accounted for, supposing them to be ill founded. After the death of Dr. Bryan Duppa, bishop of Winchester, Gauden, presuming on the favour of some persons at court, solicited, with great eagerness, for the vacant see, though he had openly abjured the whole episcopal order, and was said to have advised King Charles II. by letter, to suppress it in Scotland: to strengthen his claim to this favour, he is said to have whispered among his friends, and attempted, without witness or credit, to persuade the king, and his brother, the Duke of York, that their father was obliged to him for the credit which he derived from the *Eikon Basilikè*. But this was fifteen years after the death of Charles I. nor was any person then living, who could give evidence concerning the book.

It is, however, urged, that Dr. Walker, at the age of 70, and 40 years after the king's death, appeared in defence of this fiction; but must Walker's evidence, in favour of Gauden, be deemed indisputable, as the letter writer insinuates, merely because Gauden was his preceptor, and afterwards his intimate? this surely is rather a reason why it ought to be suspected. Besides Walker's evidence is defective, and in some instances scarcely consistent, for though he says Dr. Gauden shewed him the plan, and several chapters actually composed, yet he does not say that they were in the doctor's hand; and he afterwards expresses himself doubtfully, whether he read any part of the manuscripts, or only saw it with the title of the chapters, though surely, if Gauden shewed him some part actually composed, as his own work,

he could not have mortified him with such coldness and want of curiosity as not to read it: besides, for what other purpose was it shewn? and how could Walker be supposed to live at this time in the house with Gauden, and know so much, without knowing more?

As to the evidence of Mr. North and Mrs. Gauden, it can stand for little, if the following positive evidence in favour of the book, be considered.

M. de la Pla, minister of Finchingsfield, in a letter to Dr. Goodall, informs him, that William Allen, a man of repute and veracity, who had been many years a servant to Gauden, declared, that Gauden told him he had borrowed the book, and that being obliged to return it in a certain time, he sate up in his chamber one whole night to transcribe it, Allen himself sitting up with him, to make up his fire and snuff his candles.

It is also recorded by Sir William Dugdale, who was perfectly acquainted with the transactions of his own times, that these meditations had been begun by his Majesty at Oxford, long before he went thence to the Scots, under the title of *Suspiria Regalia*; and that the manuscript itself, written in the king's own hand, being lost at Naseby, was restored to him at Hampton Court, by Major Huntington, who had obtained it from Fairfax. That Mr. Thomas Herbert, who waited on his Majesty in his bed chamber, in the Isle of Wight, and William Livet, a page of the back stairs, frequently saw it there, read several parts of it, and saw the king divers times writing farther on in that very copy, which Bishop Duppa, by his Majesty's direction, sent to Mr. Royston, a bookseller, at the Angel in Ivy Lane, on the 23d of December, 1648, who made such expedition, that the impression was finished before the 30th of January, on which his Majesty died. Lastly, it is improbable, that if this book had been the work of Gauden, King Charles II. would have expressed himself with so little esteem and affection, when he heard of his death; "I doubt not," said he, "it will be easy to find a more worthy person to fill his place."

For a further account and confirmation of these facts, the reader is referred to a vindication of King Charles against Anglesey's Memorandum. 4to. 1711. An Appendix to the Life of Dr. Barwick. Dr. Hollingsworth's Defence of *Eikon Basilikè*, 2 parts, 4to. 1692. Ditto, by Thomas Long, B.D. 4to. 1693. And Dugdale's Short View.

1754, April.

## X. New method of modelling the Tenses of Verbs.

MR. URBAN,

MEN of polite learning have long complained, that Latin written by moderns, of whatever skill in the language, has something in it unlike that of the purest classics. This has generally been resolved, like taste, into the French *Je ne sçai quoi*; or attributed to the awkwardness of imitation. But certainly a defect that is universal must be in essentials. It may therefore be worth while to inquire, whether it may not, in a great measure, if not entirely, be owing to the use of wrong *tenses* in *verbs*; an error produced by defects in that case, common to all grammars ever yet published in our own or any other nation.

It is now about four years since I was appointed master of a free grammar school, when, though the classics had been the principal study of my life, it became necessary for me to be thoroughly versed in the true analysis of their language, in order to discharge that trust with fidelity. For initiating youth in the rudiments of grammar, I made use of Lilly, as revised by Ward: which, in perspicuity and regular disposition, far exceeds any compend of the art, I have been able to procure. But as this, as well as others, has its errors and deficiencies, I took the pains to collect, from the best writers on that subject, such remarks, for the use of my upper school, as I hoped, would, in some degree, perfect that grammar, make my youth acquainted with the grounds of the science, and put it in their power always to avoid a grammatical error. In the execution of this design, I found myself under the necessity of new modelling the *tenses* of the *verbs*; or rather indeed of restoring them to their most ancient form, that of Varro. From which, how all the grammarians in general came to vary, (in a case so plain, and supported by such authority) is to me matter of astonishment. The world has seen how much light has been thrown on Homer by Dr. Clark's revival of this form in the Greek; and why may not as much be done by it for the Latin?

This disposition of matter in Lilly, as I before observed, is extremely proper; and therefore, to make the formation of *verbs* easier to childhood, he begins with the *present tense*. But as youth of thirteen or fourteen are capable of thought and reflection, and must have learnt the formation long before; I there reduce *time* to its natural order, the *past*,

the *present*, and the *future*; each of which being conceived, as respecting the action or passion *perfect* or *imperfect*, constitutes two separate *tenses* or *times*. To explain this more fully, I shall subjoin a paradigm,

## MODI INDICATIVI

## Præteritum primum et secundum.

Tempus præteritum rei imperfectæ, (Præter-imperfect.)  
Amabam, as, at; &c. I *did love*, or *was loving*.

Tempus præteritum rei perfectæ, (Præter-perfect.)  
Amaveram, as, at; &c. I *had loved* or *been loving*.

## Præsens primum et secundum.

Tempus præsens rei imperfectæ, (Præsent-imperfect.)  
Amo, as, at; &c. I *love*, or *am loving*.

Tempus præsens rei perfectæ, (Present-perfect.)  
Amavi, isti, it; &c. I *have loved*, or *been loving*.

## Futurum primum et secundum.

Tempus futurum rei imperfectæ, (Future-imperfect.)  
Amabo, bis, bit; &c. I *shall* or *will love*, or *be loving*.

Tempus futurum rei perfectæ, (Future-perfect.)  
Amavero, ris, rit; &c. I *shall have loved*, or *been loving*.

To such as ask my reasons for preferring this distribution of tenses, I answer, 1st. That it is both a natural, regular, and easy one; and what I am persuaded others, as well as myself, from observations on the usage of good authors, will find to be just. 2dly. Let them please to consider, whether the judgment of Varro and Dr. Clark, be not, in this case, equal, not to say superior, to that of all who have written on the subject besides. And, 3dly. Whether the four *defective verbs* (*cæpi*, *memini*, *novi*, and *odi*,) which, under the *perfect* form, retain also the sense of the *imperfect*, amount not to a demonstration, that it is right. To instance in one:

## MODI INDICATIVI

## Præteritum primum et secundum.

Tempus præteritum rei imperfectæ et perfectæ.  
Noveram, as, at; &c. I *did know*, and I *had known*.

## Præsens primum et secundum.

Tempus præsens rei imperfectæ et perfectæ.  
Novi, isti, it; &c. I *know*, and I *have known*.

## Futurum primum et secundum.

· Tempus futurum rei imperfectæ et perfectæ:  
 Novero, ris, rit; &c. I shall *know*, and *have known*.

A thorough acquaintance with this true state of the *tenses* would, I believe, prevent the affixing wrong ideas of *time* in Latin compositions; a fault very much fallen into by moderns. It would also supersede several frivolous and false *rules of grammar*; such as, that *Conjunctions join the same mood but different tenses*. For, not to say (what however is true) that the business of *conjunctions* is not to join together either *moods, tenses* or indeed *single words*, but *sentences or clauses of sentences*, those different *tenses* as the grammarians call them, are in reality the same. Witness that deservedly admired passage of Virgil:

*Exiit ad cœlum ramis fœlicibus arbos  
 Miraturque novas frondes; &c.*

where any man, with half an eye, may see that *exiit* and *miratur* are both of the *present tense*: and that the former must be Englished *is gone*, not *was gone*; for so it must have been *exierat*.

But to proceed; to the *imperative mood* I found it necessary to add three new *tenses*; a *present-perfect*, a *future-imperfect*, common to this mood, with the *indicative*; and a *future-perfect*, common to all the moods, except the *infinitive*,

## MODI IMPERATIVI

## Præsens primum et secundum.

Tempus præsens rei imperfectæ, (Present-imperfect.)  
 Ama, ato; et, ato; &c. *love thou*, or *be thou loving*.

Tempus præsens rei perfectæ, (Present-perfect.)  
 Amaveris, rit; &c. *have thou loved*, or *been loving*.

## Futurum primum et secundum.

Tempus futurum rei imperfectæ, (Future-imperfect.)  
 Amabis, bit; &c. *Love thou hereafter*, or *be loving*.

Tempus futurum rei perfectæ, (Future-perfect.)  
 Amaveris, rit; &c. *Have thou loved hereafter*, or *been loving*.

Let Oderint, *dum metuant*; et adolescentes meminerint *pruditiæ*, out of Tully, suffice as examples of the *present-perfect* of this mood; where the *defective verbs*, as has been already observed under the form of the *perfect*, include

the sense also of the *imperfect*. Examples of the *first future* of this mood occur so frequently, that it is needless to cite any; however, take this out of Ovid—*Grædere et scitabere ab ipso*. Met. Lib. I. v. 775, where Dr. Friend and other editors, aware of the difficulty, but not knowing what to make of it, have put a *colon* stop, as a fence, to separate these two different *moods*, as they thought them, and to counterbalance the force of the *copulative*.

Of the *latter future* take this example out of Terence,

————— Nec tu eâ causâ minueris  
Hæc quæ facis, ne is suam mutet sententiam.  
And. Act. II. Sc. III.

where the common resolution by *fac* and *ut* is a very harsh one, and, in my opinion, much better resolved this way; especially as, in all like cases, it must be rendered into *other languages* by the *imperative*.

Before I finish with this mood, I should be glad, if such as are studious of grammatical perfection, would, in their reading of classics of the best note, observe, whether the two *defective verbs*, *salvebis* and *valebis*, ever occur in the *indicative* sense. That they are of the *first future* of the *imperative*, above described, numbers of instances may be produced; but I much doubt whether it was not through ignorance, as this *tense* belonged also to the *imperative*, that the compilers of grammar have referred them to the *indicative*.

In the *optative*, *potential*, and *subjunctive* moods, the same *ratio of tenses* obtains, as in the *indicative*; only it is to be observed, that the *present* and *future* are the same both in the *perfect* and *imperfect*. For instance,

#### MODI OPTATIVI, POTENTIALIS, ET SUBJUNCTIVI,

##### Præteritum primum et secundum.

Tempus præteritum rei imperfectæ, (Præter-imperfect.)  
Amarem, res, ret, &c. I might, could, &c. *love*, or *be loving*.

Tempus præteritum rei perfectæ, (Præter-perfect.)  
Amavissem, ses, set, &c. I might, could, &c. *have loved*, or *been loving*.

##### Præsens et futurum primum et secundum.

Tempus præsens et futurum rei imperfectæ, (Present and future-imperfect.)  
Amem, es, et, &c. I may, &c. or shall *love*, or *be loving*.

Tempus præsens et futurum rei perfectæ, (Present and future-perfect.)

Amaver<sup>im</sup>—ris, rit, &c. I may, should, &c. or shall have *loved*,  
or *been loving*.

But in the *infinitive mood*, the *past* and *present* are the same, both in the *imperfect* and *perfect*; and the *future* distinct; as,

#### MODI INFINITIVI

Præteritum et præsens primum et secundum.

Tempus præteritum et præsens rei imperfectæ, (Præter and present-imperfect.)

Me, te, illum; nos, vos, illos; amare: That I *was*, or *am* loving.

Tempus præteritum et præsens rei perfectæ, (Præter and present-perfect.)

Me, te, illum, &c. amavisse; That *have*, or *had* been loving.

Futurum primum et secundum.

Tempus futurum rei imperfectæ, (Future-imperfect.)

Me, te, illum, &c. amaturum esse; That I *am* about to be loving.

Tempus futurum rei perfectæ, (Future-perfect.)

Me, te, illum, &c. amaturum fuisse; That I *was* about to be loving.

This is the form to which I reduce the *active voice*; and the *passive* follows in like manner; only with some necessary alterations in those *tenses*, which are made up of the *participle* and *auxiliary verb*. Where the first form both of the *past* and *present*, by including both the *imperfect* and *perfect* sense, affords the same *argument* of the right distribution of *tenses*, in the above *Paradigm*, with the four *defective verbs*, before-mentioned; thus:

Præteritum primum et secundum.

Tempus præteritum rei imperfectæ et perfectæ, (Præter-imperfect and perfect.)

Amatus eram, ras, &c. I *was*, &c. *had been*, loved.

Præsens primum et secundum.

Tempus præsens rei imperfectæ et perfectæ, (Present-imperfect and perfect.)

Amatus sum, es, &c. I *am*, or *have been* loved;



### *Tenses of Verbs.*

whereas the latter form *amatus fueram*, and *amatus fui*, &c. signify the thing without the least mixture of the *imperfect*, though in all grammars they are put down with the former, as equivalent.

I shall now only beg leave to add one caution to my fellow-labourers, to the youth of the universities, and to the studious in the dead languages (for whose service I have communicated my thoughts, and to whose judgment I submit them), that in their trial of what I have advanced, they be aware, that the true *time* of an *action* or *passion*, is, in some cases, exceedingly hard to determine exactly. That the transition between *contiguous tenses*, and between the *perfect* and *imperfect state* of the same *tense*, is nearly like that of light and shade, in painting. For instance, it is often the same thing, whether you make use of the *perfect* or *præter-imperfect tense* of the grammars. The difference between *time present* in its *perfect state*, and *time past* in its *imperfect state*, being almost imperceptible. But the mistake hitherto has been in taking the *perfect tense* of the grammars to be the *more perfect time* of the two; whereas, in reality, it is only the *present-perfect*, and the other as it is rightly termed, the *præter-imperfect*. So *jusserat*, *dixerat*, *funerat*, &c. when they occur, after some speech in authors; though they are used in the form of the *præter-perfect*, yet may best be turned into English by the Aorist or *Indefinite*, viz. *he ordered*, *he spoke*, *he ended*; which is the sense of the *præter-imperfect*. For the Latins being without Aorists, make use of *this tense* and the *præter-perfect* of the grammars for that purpose.

I have added, to the *active voice*, the *passive sign*, with the English *participle* in *ing*, for the assistance of ushers; to whom I should by all means recommend the practice of accustoming their youth sometimes to write the *verbs* in that form which will obviate a very common mistake, namely, its being taken by them for the *passive voice*.

The form of the *infinitive mood* is altered, and the *accusative case* put before it, to show, that, like an impersonal, it is capable of being applied to all the persons, by the addition of the personal pronoun.

Thus much of my grammatical collection I have been prevailed upon to offer to the public, hoping it may be of general use. With the rest I have resolved not to trouble it, as being not all my own, but collected from a great number of authors. By the channel of your Magazine it will be far diffused; and to such as are wedded for life to old forms, cost no more than the trouble of reading. And my

design will be fully answered, if it either contributes satisfactorily to the clearing up this most intricate and nice part of grammar; or excites some other person, of more penetration and leisure, to do it better.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

Ashford, in Kent, April 2.

S. BARRETT.

1754, April.

## XI. Proverbial Saying explained.

MR. URBAN,

DR. FULLER died while he was writing that extensive work, intitled, the *History of the Worthies of England*, for which reason, amongst others, that book is not so complete as one could wish. In some counties he has registered the *proverbial sayings* peculiar to them, in others he has omitted them, and yet those counties no doubt afforded some, though the doctor could not recollect them. One saying we have in the northern parts, omitted by him, which is there very common, but perhaps wants some explanation; it is this, *as cunning as Crowder*. Now a *crowed* is 'a fiddle,' and a *crowder* is 'a fiddler,' both which words, to go no further, you will find in Dr. Littleton's Dictionary. Hence *Crowdero* is the fiddler in *Hudibras*. Cant. II. But why, as *cunning* as *Crowder*? I answer, we have two senses of the word *cunning*, one implying craft and subtilty, and often in an ill sense; and the other implying art and skill, and always in a good one. Hence *cining* and *coning*, *rex*, from Anglo-Saxon 'connan,' *scire*. *King* is an abbreviation of *cining*, and imports *prudens*, *sciens*, or the *knowing one*, the first kings or monarchs among the Saxons, being chosen into their office (which was not hereditary then) on account of their greater and more consummate knowledge in the administration of affairs, especially the military. But I observe that the word in this latter use, was very commonly applied to skill or knowledge in music, of which I will here produce you an instance or two.

1 Sam. xvi. 16, 17, 18, "Seek out a man who is a *cunning* player upon a harp. And *Saul* said unto his servants, provide me now a man that can *play well*, and bring him to me. Then answered one of the servants, and said, behold, I

have seen a son of *Jesse* the *Bethlehemite*, that is *cunning* in playing, &c.

1 Chron. xxv. 7. "So the number of them, with their brethren that were instructed in the songs of the Lord, even all that were *cunning*, was two hundred four score and eight."

Ps. lviii. 5. "Which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming ever so wisely." According to the margin, "be the charmer never so *cunning*;" whereupon it must be observed, that this charming of serpents here alluded to, was supposed to be effected by music.

Ps. cxxxvii. 5. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her *cunning*." This is spoken by King David, the same person, who, above by the prophet Samuel, is styled a *cunning player on the harp*, and by the late learned Mr. Johnson, is very well paraphrased thus:—"If I do not retain my natural affection for thee, O Jerusalem, the city of the living God, and the divine services which are there to be performed; if I forget to perform my part in those solemn devotions, let my hand quite lose its skill in touching the harp." See also Bishop Patrick. In all these passages the substantive means *skill*, and the adjective *skilful*, but particularly in the science of music.

To come then to the point; I suppose there was a time formerly, when minstrels were so scarce, that it denoted great parts and great application to be able to play on a violin in these parts at least: to be as *cunning as Crowder*, imported consequently a person of skill and abilities; and if ever the phrase is used of craft and artifice, it is by *catéchresis*, or an abuse of speech, as happens very commonly in language.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1754, May.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

MR. URBAN,

MR. GEMSEGE has given a very pretty account of the saying *As cunning as Crowder*, it may be a true one; but the same saying in the N. W. part of England, (perhaps not so ancient as his) came from the following story: one Samuel Crowder, a carrier, was desired to bring a pound of tobacco for a neighbour; accordingly he buys the tobacco,

and packs it up in the mouth of a sack of salt; it being wet weather, the salt, being moist, breaks through the paper in which the tobacco was contained, and next day, when Crowder and his wife were unpacking, to their great surprise, they found the tobacco and some of the salt mixed together; his wife Mary made great lamentations to have so much tobacco and salt spoiled, which must certainly be paid for by them; but Samuel, wondering at his wife's simplicity, told her he had thought of a method of separating them immediately, and ordered her to fetch a pail of water, which was done; he then emptied the tobacco and salt into the water. "Now," says he to his wife, "there is a quick thought of mine, you fool! you see all the tobacco swims at the top, and all the salt falls to the bottom." So when any person does not act quite so smart as he should, he is said to be as cunning as Crowder.

Yours,

BRITANNICUS.

1754, June.

## XII. A Proverbial Saying explained.

MR. URBAN,

WE have a proverbial saying current through the whole kingdom, peculiar, I believe, to this nation, of which the sense is generally well enough understood, but the reason and foundation of it are so greatly obscured by a corrupt pronunciation, that I presume they are known to few. The adage meant is, *to turn cat i' th' pan*, of which every one knows the meaning, and probably has remarked many examples of it; but there being no connection between a *cat* and a *pan*, the rise of the phrase is very intricate, all owing as I said to a corruption of speech, for the word no doubt is *cate*, which is an old word for a *cake* or other *aumalette*, which being usually *fried*, and consequently *turned in the pan*, does therefore very aptly express the changing of sides in politics or religion, or, as we otherwise say, *the turning one's coat*.

I will now produce some authorities for this word; offer a conjecture concerning its etymon; and then shew by

a similar instance the facility and probability of the corruption.

When the cowherd's wife upbraids King Alfred, in Speed, for letting the cake at the fire burn, the author observes, she little suspected him "to be the man that had been served with far more delicate cates." Speed's Hist. p. 386. here it signifies a *cake*, but in general it means any dainty or delicacy, as in the example following, and as Dr. Littleton well notes when he Latinizes it in his Dictionary *cibi delicati*. In the Moresco feast called *Asherah*, Dr. Lanc. Addison tells us, the Moors 'eat nothing but' "dates, figs, parched corn, and all such natural cates as their substance can procure." Addison's account of West Barbary, p. 214. In Taylor's Play, *The Hog hath lost his Pearl*; Lightfoot says of King Croesus in the shades below, that he is there,

Feasting with *Pluto* and his *Proserpine*  
Night after night with all delicious cates.  
*Dodsley's Old Plays*, Vol. iii. p. 227.

So in Heywood's *Woman Killed with Kindness*, Anne says,

————— for from this sad hour  
I never will nor eat, nor drink, nor taste  
Of any cates that may preserve my life.  
*Ibid.* Vol. iv. p. 139.

In Lylie's *Euphues*, Euphues says, "be not dainty mouthed, a fine taste noeth the fond appetites that Venus said her Adonis to have, who seeing him to take his chief delight in costly cates," &c. Lylie's *Euphues*, p. 242. Here it apparently signifies *delicacies*, and indeed I take the word to be no other but the last syllable of the word *delicate*, for the last cited author, p. 356, uses the word *delicate* in the very same sense, when he says of the English ladies, "drinking of wine, yet moderately: eating of delicacies, yet but their ears full," and perhaps from this word comes *to cater* and a *caterer*, which are both of them English, and not French terms.

Now that this is the true original of this saying is very clear from a similar corruption in the word *salt-cat*. A *salt-cat* is a cake well impregnated with brine, and laid in a pigeon-house, in order to tempt and entice the birds, who are exceedingly fond of it; and *cat* is here used for *cate*, in the sense of a *cake*, just as it is in this proverbial saying which we are now explaining.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1754, Feb.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

MR. URBAN,

I REMEMBER to have said in Feb. Magazine, "perhaps from this word *cate* comes *to cater*, and a *caterer*, which are both of them English, and not French terms." At the same time I deduced the word *cate* from the last syllable of the word *delicate*, but since the writing of that paper, I find that Chaucer, p. 5. line 569. of Mr. Urry's edition, writes,

A manciple there was of the temple,  
Of which all catours might take ensample,  
For to beu wise in buyng of vitaille;  
For whether he payid or toke by taile,  
Algate he waitid so in his ashate,  
That he was ay before in gode estate;

The first of the Harleian MSS. has *Achators* for *all catours*; and the word *ashate* in the glossary is explained, "buying, dealing, *acate*, MS. Ch. from the French, *achat*, *acheter*; whence *catour*, *caterer*, Fr. *acheteur*, a buyer, anciently written *atatur*. Gl. Lob." These etymologies are certainly very plausible, and it is submitted to the learned to decide, whether they are not preferable to those offered by me, if so, the word *cate* comes from the French *acate* or *achat*, and the word *cater* from the French *acheter*.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1754, May.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

### XIII. The Proverb—At Latter-Lammas—explained.

MR. URBAN,

THE late Mr. Ray, in his English Proverbs, very well explains the sense and meaning of the proverbial phrase *at latter Lammas*, "*ad Græcas calendas*," says he, "*i. e.* never, *πτεαν ἡμιονοι τελευτοι, cum nulli pariant*, Herodot." But the question still recurs, how came *latter Lammas* to signify *never*? I answer, The first of August had a great variety of names amongst our ancestors: it was called *Festum Sancti Petri ad vincula*, *Gula Augusti*, *Peter-mass*, and amongst the rest, *Lammas*. The two former of these names depend upon an old legend, which in Durandus runs thus: "One *Quirinus*, a tribune, having a daughter that had a disease in her *throat*, she, by the order of Alexander, then Pope of

Rome, and the sixth from St. Peter, sought for the chains, with which St. Peter was bound at Rome, under Nero; and having found them, she kissed them and was healed; and Quirinus and his family were baptized. 'Tunc dictus Alexander Papa hoc festum in calendis Augusti celebrandum instituit, et in honorem beati Petri ecclesiam in urbe fabricavit, ubi ipsa vincula reposuit, et *ad vincula* nominavit, et calendis Augusti dedicavit. In qua festivitate populus illic conveniens *ipsa vincula* hodie osculatur.' Durand. Rationale divin. Offic. lib. vii. p. 240. The festival was instituted on occasion of finding the chains, and of the miracle wrought by them, and so was intitled *Festum Sancti Petri ad vincula*; and because the part upon which it was performed was the *gula* or *throat*, in process of time, it came to be called *Gula Augusti*. It took the name of *Peter-mass* partly from the apostle, and partly, as I think, from its being the day, when the *Rome-scot* or *Peter-pence*, in ancient time, (when that tribute was paid in this kingdom) was levied. The Confessor's law is very express, "The Peter-penny ought to be demanded at the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul\*, and to be levied at the feast called *ad vincula*†." Eccles. Laws of Edward the Confessor, A. D. MLXIV. c. 11.

We come now to *Lammas*, of which there are two etymologies. The first is in Cowel: "*Lammas-day*," says he, "is the first of August, so called, *quasi Lamb-mas*, on which day the tenant that held lands of the cathedral church at York, which is dedicated to *St. Peter ad vincula*‡, were bound, by that tenure, to bring a living lamb into the church at high mass." Cowel's Interpreter. But this custom may seem too local, to give occasion to so general a name, and therefore the etymon given us by Mr. Wheatly from Somner, I would chuse to prefer. These gentlemen derive it from the A. Saxon *hlafmasse*, that is, *Loaf-mass*, it having been the custom of the Saxons to offer that day, universally throughout the whole kingdom, an oblation of *loaves*, made of new wheat, as the first fruits of their new corn. It appears from many passages in the Saxon chronicle, that this name is of great antiquity; in some of them there is the *h* prefixed, which shews it has no relation to the lamb, *agnus*;

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\* June 29.

† Mr. Johnson says, King Offa chose this time for the payment of the *Peter-pence*, because on this day the relicts of St. Alban, the martyr, were first discovered to him.

‡ This is not true; it is dedicated to St. Peter, but not to St. Peter *ad vincula*. The feast of the dedication is Oct. 1. See Mr. Drake's Eboracum.

and in others, as *anno* 913, 918, 921, and 1101, it is expressly written *hlufmasse*, and the learned editor and translator of the Saxon annals renders it every where very justly, by *Festum Primitiarum*.

Now as to the point in hand, *Lammas-day* was always a great day of accounts; for in the payment of rents, &c. our ancestors distributed the year into four quarters, ending at *Candlemas*, *Whitsuntide*, *Lammas*, and *Martinmas*, and this was every whit as common as the present division of *Lady-day*, *Midsummer*, *Michaelmas*, and *Christmas*. In regard to *Lammas*, besides it being one of the usual days of reckoning, it appears from the quotation taken above from the Confessor's laws, that it was the specific day whereon the *Peter-pence*, a tax very rigorously exacted, and the punctual payment of which was enforced under a penalty, by the law of St. Edward, was paid. In this view, then, *Lammas*, stands as *a day of accounts*, and *latter Lammas* will consequently signify the *last day of accounts*, or the day of doom, which, in effect, as to all payments of money, and in general, as to all worldly transactions whatever, is *never*. *Latter* here is used for *last*, the comparative for the superlative, just as it is in a like case in the book of Job xix. 25. "I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the *latter day*, upon the earth," meaning the last day. That the last day, or the *latter Lammas*, as to all temporal affairs, is indeed *never*, may be illustrated by the following story. A man at confession owned to his having stolen a sow and pigs. The father confessor exhorted him to restitution. The man said, some were sold, and some were killed; but the priest not satisfied with that, told him they would follow him to the day of judgment, if he did not make restitution: upon which the man replies quickly, *I'll restore 'm THEN*, as much as to say, *never*.

Yours, &c,

1754, *Sept.*

G. P.

#### XIV. On the Propriety of Language in the Lord's Prayer.

MR. URBAN,

A CERTAIN old Clergyman, in my neighbourhood, having formerly read the *petition* of *Who* and *Which*, in the *Spectator*, No. 78, has at last taken it into his head, to the great scandal of many honest and well-meaning people, when he



repeats the Lord's Prayer, to say, *Our father who art in heaven*, instead of *Our father which art in heaven*, according to the form prescribed in the book of Common Prayer, which he has solemnly obliged himself to observe. He puts me in mind of a nice gentleman, now dead, who, when Lady W. was to return thanks in the church, after childbirth, thought it too familiar, and even bordering upon rudeness, to say, *O Lord save this woman thy servant*, and therefore he altered it to *O Lord save this Lady thy servant*, and instructed the clerk to reply; *Who putteth her Ladyship's trust in thee*. But to the point; that paper in the Spectator was not written by so great a judge of language as to induce one greatly to regard it; on the contrary, the observation there made is drawn merely from modern use, and betrays, in my opinion, great ignorance as to the ancient state of our language, and therefore one would wish that such innovations as these, taken up without sufficient grounds, might be entirely discouraged.

The Lord's Prayer, as it stands in the liturgy, is not taken from our present translation of the New Testament, and yet in this it is, *which art in heaven*, both in Matthew vi. and Luke xi. Neither is it taken from an older translation in use in Queen Elizabeth's time, where the address is in like manner expressed in both those texts. Nor, lastly, is it copied from Archbishop Cranmer's Bible, where again you will find it represented no otherwise. From whence one may reasonably conclude, that the use of *which* for *who* in this case, cannot but be true English, these several translations being made by different authors, and who all of them, as must be presumed, had a competent knowledge of our language.

I observe next, that in this very service of ours, *which* is in other places used for *who*; as in that case cited by the Spectator, *Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults*; and this other in the visitation of the sick, *O Lord save thy servant, which putteth his trust in thee*. Prayer for Ember weeks, *those which shall be ordained*. So in the gospel for Thursday before Easter we read, *And one of the malefactors which were hanged, railed on him, &c.* Psalm xvii. 7, we have, *Thou that art the saviour of them which put their trust in thee*; and verse 13, *Deliver my soul from the ungodly, which is a sword of thine*. Again, Ps. xviii. 2. *I will call upon the Lord which is worthy to be praised*; and verse 17, *them which hated me*. But what is most remarkable is that passage in the communion office, *Glorify your father which is in heaven*, it is so exactly corresponding to this in question.

Mr. Urban, here are no less than nine passages produced from our liturgy, wherein the word *which* is applied to persons, and occurs for *who*, and may not one justly wonder how any one pretending to be so nice and delicate, as the gentleman above-mentioned, could possibly overlook them? There are probably other places of the same kind, but these he reads often, and it is really a matter of surprise, that all of them should always have escaped his notice, particularly that they should have done so, since he has entertained his scruple about the justness and purity of such expressions.

A third argument for the purity of this word in this acception, I deduce from the Latin relative *qui*, which is applied both to persons and things, just as our *which* is, and as *il quale* and *le quel* are in the Italian and French.

But what prevails most with me is, that I have observed our ancient authors using *which*, of persons, as well as things. I will here cite a few examples from some of our oldest writers.

A manciple there was of the temple,  
Of *which* all catours might take ensample,  
For to ben wise in buying of vitaile.

*Chaucer, p. 5. Edit. Urry.*

He geveth his graces undeserved,  
And fro that man *whiche* hath him served,  
Full ofte he taketh away his fees,  
As he that plaieth at the dies.

should pass unnoticed) where *which* for *who* occurs no less than seven times.

These, Mr. Urban, may be thought authorities sufficient for the usage of any word; and I dare say, that upon occasion they might be doubled and trebled; but I rather choose to enter now a little into the reason of the thing, where I would observe, that I do not take this word *which*, when applied to persons, to be so purely a relative as *who* is, but rather to be an elliptical way of speaking. For example, the words, Luke iii. 23, *being the son of Joseph, which was the son of Heli*; I conceive may be filled up thus, *being the son of Joseph, which Joseph was the son of Heli*; in which case you cannot with any tolerable propriety substitute *who* in the place of *which*. So in the prayer, *Our father which art in heaven*, the full locution would be, *Our father, which father art in heaven*. And in Tom Hearne's pref. to the Antiquities of Glastonbury, p. xci. you have "*which* Walter" in a like case. And hence, as I conjecture, arose the expression *the which*; for this, when it is used of a person, as I suppose it is sometimes, manifestly is demonstrative, and requires a supply of the preceding proper name, whatever it be; and in that case again you cannot change *which* for *who*, for we never say *the who*. *The which* is unquestionably good English, as might be easily shewn, were it needful, and yet some people have been willing to except against it, and, in particular, I remember to have seen it somewhere objected, as obsolete and incorrect, to Mr. Tindal the translator of Rapin. But there are other cases, where, as it should seem, *who* or *whom* cannot well be put for *which*, as 2 Kings ix. 5. *Unto which of all us?* and Luke xiv. 5, *which of you*, &c. In this last place, whatever may be thought of the former, it would sound very harsh, I am certain, to an English ear, to hear it read *who of you?* But then, though the terms of *who* and *which* are not always convertible, yet this hinders not but that in most cases they may be used the one for the other; and consequently that whosoever should choose to say *Our futher which art in heaven*, will no more offend against propriety, and the genius of the English idiom, than he that would rather write, *Our father who art in heaven*, and consequently that there is no occasion for an alteration, nor any reason in the world why a reader should depart from the common form.

I am, yours, &c.

Chesterfield, July 18, 1754.

G. P.

1754, July.

MR. URBAN,

PERHAPS what I am going to say may seem but a very small matter to some of your readers; but since it relates to the idiom of our language, and some of the most learned of the Romans could debate it, as we find they did from A. Cælius, X. 1. whether it were right to say *tertiumne consul et quartum*, an *tertio et quarto*; others perhaps may think differently of it. Besides, it is concerning the public liturgy of our church, where every causeless innovation ought, in my opinion, to be prevented as much as possible. In short, Sir, since I undertook the defence of the diction in the address of the Lord's Prayer, I have been informed, that there are those who in one of the petitions very commonly will say *on earth* as it is *in heaven*, intimating that it is not so proper to say *in earth*. But surely this is very needless and hypercritical; for, the preposition *in*, both in Latin and English, is as polysemous, that is, of as various an import as most words in either language; it denotes, *within, by, for the sake of*, &c. and amongst its other significations, it is very commonly used for *on* or *upon*, and consequently these two particles *in* and *on* are frequently counterchanged in common speech. For example, you may either say, *I met him on the road*, or *in the road*; *the down in a peach*, or *the down on a peach*; *in the seventh day thou shalt do no manner of work*, or *on the seventh day*. See the fourth commandment, and Exod. xxxi. In some places it is said to *write upon tables*, as Exod. xxxii. 16. and yet you have it 2 Cor. iii. 3. *Written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart*. In Exod. xvi. 26, both forms occur together, *But on the seventh day, which is the sabbath, in it there shall be none*. And so again, Gen. ii. 2. *He rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made, and God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because that in it he had rested from all his work*. From all which one may reasonably infer, that in the present case it is equally as proper to say *in earth*, as *on earth*. But this I shall more directly cvince: it was noted in a former paper that the three translations of the Bible there quoted were made by different hands, and yet all of them; both Matthew vi. and Luke xi. have *in earth*; and to them I beg leave to add Dr. Wickliffe in Matthew. In this our liturgy it is said, *Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's church militant here in earth*. And so Ps. cxxxv. 6. *Whatsoever the Lord pleased, that did he in heaven and in earth*. And Matt. xxviii. 18. *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth*; where

see again old Wickliffe, Archbishop Cranmer's Bible, and the version in use *tempore Elizab. reginæ*, and in the communion office, *Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace*. Wherefore I shall only cite one passage more, namely, the second commandment, *The likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or the earth beneath*. In the Anglo-Saxon, which is the *matrix* of our language, *on* signifies *in*, as appears, to go no farther, from the coins where DORR ON EOERPIC is *Thorr in York*. See Mr. Thoresby's Museum, p. 348, *et alibi*. This now shews, *a priori*, how *in* came to be used for *on*; that it is no solecism, but arises from the very genius of our tongue.

Yours, &c.

1754, Aug.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

MR. URBAN,

YOUR correspondent who favoured you with the criticism on the first clause of the Lord's Prayer, seems through the whole of it, never to have taken the Greek original into consideration. The question is not, whether the present translation be grammatical or not, or whether *whuh* may supply the place of *who*, but whether either of them be necessary. In the original it is not the relative that is used, but the prepositive article *ὁ*, which indeed sometimes stands as a relative, but here seems to be put *causa discretionis*, and may very justly be translated *that*, as meant in distinction to our father on earth. As if it implied; not *this* father on earth, but *that* in heaven, is properly your father, for he it was that created you, and it is he that daily supports and preserves you, therefore small is your loss in losing your earthly father; you are not thereby orphans, if you do not by your wickedness forfeit the favour of your heavenly father, for, if so, you would be orphans indeed. Many instances might be given where the prepositive article is translated *that*, but I shall mention one only, 1 Peter i. 21, Θεοῦ τοῦ ἐγερσάντων, *God that raised*.

The criticism in your August Magazine likewise, would have been helped by the consideration of the Greek. There is no necessity to retain *on*, because it was anciently used for *in*, but it ought to remain upon its own account. The translation of ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, is plainly, *on*, or *upon the earth*, not neglecting the particle *the*, which, in proper English, is always set before that word, except when it signifies soil or mould; for I think in these expressions, *through all the earth*, or *round the earth*, the particle *the* is necessary to make them English.

An expression or phrase being ancient, is not quite a sufficient reason to a modern, for its being proper, unless we are to prefer the ancient state of our language to the more modern and improved. Not but that I think there are a great many forms of expression in authors, in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the First, that are masculine and nervous, and that it is a pity they should turn obsolete.

D——d, *Sept.* 24, 1754.  
1754, *Oct.*

MR. URBAN,

A LEARNED Antiquarian in a late Magazine, chastises one of his neighbours for altering a word in the Lord's Prayer, and saying, *Our father who art in heaven*, instead of *Our father which art in heaven*.

This passage has occasioned several disputes; but what arguments have been advanced on each side of the question, I have at present neither time nor inclination to examine.

I must, however, observe, that your correspondent has by no means demonstrated the propriety of the word *which*; for though it may be used when we speak of a *third person*, and perhaps justified by supposing it "an elliptical way of speaking," yet when it is part of an invocation, we shall find it, I believe, a manifest impropriety.

For example, this sentence—*I will call upon the Lord, which is worthy to be praised*—may be thus filled up—*I will call upon the lord, which lord is worthy to be praised*. But, suppose we alter the sentence, and say—*I will call upon thee, O lord, which lord art worthy to be praised*—the impropriety is apparent. *Which lord* can never be part of an invocation: the words evidently refer to a *third person*.

For the same reason when we address ourselves to God in the Lord's Prayer, we cannot consistently say, *Our father, which father art in heaven*; whereas, if we speak of him, we may with tolerable propriety say, *Glorify your father, which father is in heaven*.

Mr. P. I imagine, was not aware of this distinction when he wrote his remarks, for I do not find one of his quotations "exactly corresponding to this in question."

He has taken great pains, indeed, to prove that *which* may be applied to *persons*, and in some cases I allow it may; but then I must observe, that an indiscriminate use of *who* and *which*, will tend to break through idiomatical precision, and confound our language with unnecessary variations. Whereas

we should ascertain our expressions, were we to appropriate *who* to persons, and *which* to things.

I am surprised that any modern writer should quote Chaucer and Wickliffe as vouchers for the purity of an expression. Woe be to the English language, if we are, at this day, to be guided by the writers of the 14th century.

Ten thousand citations, however, can never justify an absurdity; the correctest writers may be guilty of a solecism, and grammatical inaccuracies propagated from one generation to another.

The truth is, the English language has never been thoroughly refined; no standard has been fixed; the phraseology is extremely vague and unsettled; and among all the English writers, I know but few who have brought their language to any tolerable degree of perfection.

Mr. Dryden was certainly of this opinion, for in his dedication of *Troilus and Cressida* to the Earl of Sunderland, he makes this observation:

"How barbarously we yet write and speak, your lordship knows, and I am sufficiently sensible in my own English; for I am often put to a stand in considering whether what I write is the idiom of the tongue, or false grammar and nonsense couched under the specious name of anglicism."

Yours, &c.

Rayleigh, Nov. 13.

R—N.

P.S. Mr. P. tells us, "*The which* is unquestionably good English;" for my part I question his authority, and should be obliged to him if he would point out the *elegance* of that phrase.

1754, Nov.

MR. URBAN,

I PERCEIVE the observations I made in defence of the address in the Lord's Prayer of the current version, have been so unfortunate as to meet with some adversaries. The first of them is pleased to alter the state of the question, and to refer to the original. "The question is not," says he, "whether the present translation be grammatical or not, or whether *which* may supply the place of *who*; but whether either of them be necessary?" But the point I debated was, whether *which* might not stand there, without any impropriety or solecism, for *who*; and for this I appeal to my paper. With submission therefore to this gentleman, I am not at all concerned with the original Greek, in this

dispute, nor with the justness or falshood of our translation of it, any further than to maintain, that *which* may do as well as *who*. However, I shall bestow one word upon this author; he would have it rendered, *that art in heaven*; now I can find no difference in the sense between *who* and *that*, nor between *which* and *that*, if you will allow that *which* can be used of persons; for it is all one to say, *Our father, who art in heaven*, and *Our father, which art in heaven*, or *Our father, that art in heaven*, God being effectually and sufficiently distinguished by all of them from our fathers after the flesh, which is all this author proposes. And what will he say to this passage of Shakspeare in Henry VIII. Act II. Scene 4?

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It is not to be question'd  
That they had gather'd a wise council to them  
Of ev'ry realm, *that* did debate this business,  
*Who* deem'd our marriage lawful.

Here, *that* and *who* are used promiscuously of the same persons, and in the same breath.

This, Sir, is all I have occasion to reply to this gentleman, whose objection concerning the citing our old English authors in this dispute, shall be removed below.

Another gentleman admits, as I take it, that *which* may be applied to *persons*, as well as *things*, in some cases, but requires an example where it is so used, when it is part of an invocation. This, Sir, is being very strict with me, and yet I do not despair of giving this gentleman satisfaction.

The question then between this gentleman and me is, whether *which* can be applied to a second person, as *who* or *that* can? I answer it may; and I vouch Acts i. 24. "And they prayed, and said, thou, Lord, *which* knowest the hearts of all men," &c. Here, *which* is the 2d person, and the words at full would be, *Thou, Lord, which Lord knowest*, &c. *Lord*, in the latter case being in the 2d person. These words now, I must insist, Sir, are exactly parallel with the words of the prayer, *Our father, which art in heaven*, which are to be interpreted, *Our father, which father art in heaven*, and where *father* is, in like manner, in the second person. This passage in the Acts, is not only read in our liturgy, (See the Epistle for St. Matthias) but stands *verbatim* the same in the two older versions.

To go on; there is another example, Acts xv. 23, "The apostles send greeting unto the brethren, *which are* of the Gentiles. For as much as we have heard, that certain which went out from us, have troubled you with words,"



&c. Now *are* here, is the second person plural, as is plain from the words that follow, *have troubled you*, and the passage is to be understood as if it had been expressed thus, "The apostles send greeting unto *you*, the brethren *which are* of the *Gentiles*," &c. A third text may be cited from Rom. ii. 21. "Thou, therefore, *which teachest* another, teachest thou not thyself? thou *that preachest* a man should not steal, dost thou steal?" These words are likewise read in the same manner, in the older versions; and what is remarkable in this case, *that preachest* occurs in the same verse, which shews me, that the scholars concerned in the present translation, and in *one* of the elder ones at least, knew no manner of difference between *which teachest*, and *that preachest*, but looked upon them as tantamount, and equally pure. And yet, I dare say, those divines understood their mother tongues as well as either this gentleman or myself. I hope your correspondent will pardon me for this presumption.

I have no reason, Sir, to distrust this gentleman's candour, and therefore three examples will serve as well as three hundred; and therefore I shall rest the matter here, without troubling you any further. But I observe he is afraid lest the indiscriminate use of *who* and *which* should tend to break through all idiomatical precision. For my part, I see no ground for his fears, since the antecedent, as the grammarians speak, will always sufficiently determine the sense of the relative. After all, I do not suppose that either this gentleman or myself would choose to write in this manner now, for I see no particular elegance in it; no, Sir, all I contend for is, that it is true English; that there is no occasion for an alteration; and that they who understood the idiom of the English language, as well as either of us, would sometimes express themselves so; this is all I desire. But he is surprised Chaucer and Wickliffe should be produced as vouchers in this cause; but, Sir, I did not produce them *solely*, for several other authors were alleged besides them; and if occasion were, I could cite twenty examples more, from the Bible, (one there is above, from Acts i. 24.) and as many from Shakspeare. I deduced the form of speaking from our oldest writers, down, as I may say, to the present time; for it occurs frequently, as has been shewn, both in our liturgy, and in our scriptures, at this day. And I conceive that the best way of evincing the propriety of an expression, in any language, must be to trace it through all the several ages of that language; an observation, which I desire the former of these adversaries would likewise attend to: For were I to shew the use of any disputed Latin word,

I should think I could not do better, than make it appear it was so applied in the fragments of Ennius and Lucilius, and in the works of Horace and Juvenal; which if I could be able to do, it would be clear it was, no peculiarity of *one* author, no casual abuse of the word, no affected singularity of the time, no solecism, no grammatical inaccuracy, propagated from one generation to another, but, in general, a justifiable idiom of the Latin tongue.

Mr. Urban, I should dismiss this nice critic here, but that I find he calls upon me to shew, that *the which* is good English, and to point out the *elegance* of that phrase. The *last* I will not pretend to do, for I do not know there is any elegance in it, neither did I ever say there was; but then, elegance is not required to make a phrase good English, any more than it is necessary to make any Greek or Roman phrase true and sound, and good Greek or Latin. If your correspondent, therefore, will be content with my alleging certain approved and good authors, which is all I proposed when I made the assertion, I can refer him to a competent variety of them, such, as Leland's *Itin.* i. p. 4. 6. 30, and elsewhere. Psalm lxxviii. 16. John v. 29. Acts xi. 6. Shakespeare's *Othello*, Act I. Scene 10. Hamlet, Act I. Scene 1. Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, l. i. 26. Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, p. 287; and Dr. Fuller's *History of Waltham*, p. 17, &c. &c. So many passages from different writers amount, methinks, to a full proof that I did not want authority for what I advanced; however, your friend must excuse me from transcribing the several places at length, which I am neither disposed to do, nor would it be consistent with your design, who have so many matters of much greater importance, no doubt, upon your hands.

I am, yours, &c.

1754, Dec.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

#### XV. The Author of the Whole Duty of Man.

MR. URBAN,

*Clapham, Jan. 8.*

I SEE, by a note in your last Magazine, that you join in opinion with many others, that Lady Packington was the author of the book called the *Whole Duty of Man*. There are several reasons mentioned by Mr. Ballard, in his

Memoirs of Learned Ladies, published in 1752, to induce us to be of the same mind, which are by no means convincing to me. The only *positive* evidence in her favor (for the rest is but hear-say) is that mentioned by you, namely, that the sheets of that book are still preserved in the family to this day, in her own hand-writing. This, I allow, does shew that she was acquainted with the author, but not certainly that she herself was the author. I am very apt to think that the real author, whoever he was, and who took so much care to be concealed whilst alive, left no remains in his hand-writing, by which he might be discovered after his death.

My reasons for believing that this lady was not the author, may be found in Dr. Hammond's Advertisement to the first edition, printed in 1657. Here, the Dr. mentions to Mr. Garthwait the bookseller, "You needed not any intercession to recommend this task to me, which brought its invitation and reward with it." Now if Lady P. was the author, and the Dr. lived under her roof,\* can it be supposed that she would have sent the book to London, afterwards to be returned to Dr. Hammond, at her house? And if the sheets in her own hand-writing are now to be supposed an evidence of the author, could not the Dr. long acquainted with her, have at once discovered her as such? It is remarkable, that there was a great deal of religious intimacy between this lady and the Dr. In some private prayers I have seen of her's, she thanks God for giving her so wise and prudent an adviser, whose name was famous all over the nation, or to that purpose. Why then should she be so shy to shew this book at once to so intimate a friend, when afterwards the author, whoever he was, was very well known to Bishop Fell? For in the Preface to the Edition in folio, of 1684, of *The Works of the Author of the Whole Duty of Man*, the bishop speaks of him as one who was "wise and humble, temperate, chaste, patient, charitable, and devout; lived a whole age of great austerities, and maintained undisturbed serenity in the midst of them," and who was not alive at the time of this publication.

But a reason which weighs with me above every other against the supposed author, and appears decisive in the point, is, that the bishop speaks of this author in the *masculine* gender, when he might easily have avoided making

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\* It appears by Bishop Fell's life of Dr. Hammond, that he lived several years before his death, which happened in 1660, with Lady P.

any distinction of the sexes. "The pious votary," says he, "will by this method, more entirely acquaint himself with the writer of these tracts, than he could by the most punctual account of HIS name," &c.

It is strange that Mr. Ballard, who had read this preface, by the quotations he makes from it, did not perceive this; or, if he did, would take no notice of it.

Yours, &c.

1754, Jan.

OBED. REPERET.

XVI. *Sir Isaac Newton on the Ancient Year, from a MS.*

I HAVE perused the paper, which his Lordship the Bishop of Worcester sent to Dr. Prideaux, and find it filled with excellent observations concerning the ancient year; but do not find it proved, that any ancient nation used a year of twelve months, and 360 days, without correcting it from time to time by the luminaries, to make the months keep to the course of the moon, and the years to the course of the sun, and returns of the seasons and fruits of the earth.

The first nations, before they began to use artificial cycles, kept a reckoning of time by the courses of the sun and moon, Gen. i. 14; and, for knowing what days of every month in the year they were to celebrate as festivals or fasts, and to what gods, it was requisite to have a calendar, in which calendar it was obvious to set down thirty days to a lunar month, and twelve lunar months to a solar year, these being the nearest round numbers, answering to the courses of the sun and moon: and hence it came to pass that the ancients reckoned the luni-solar year to consist of twelve months, and 360 days, in which they supposed the sun moved round the heavens. But I do not find that in civil affairs any nation adhered to this luni-solar calendar, where they found it differ from the courses of the sun and moon, but rather corrected it from time to time, taking a day or two from the month, as often as they found this month too long for the course of the moon, and adding a month to the year as often as they found twelve lunar months too short for the return of the four seasons, and fruits of the earth. And thus to correct the calendar of the luni-solar year was the business of the priests: and from the reformation of this primitive calendar to make it agree better and better with the courses of the sun and moon, and need to be corrected

seldom by them, came all the forms and cycles of years which have been ever since invented.

For after they found that twelve lunar months were too short for the return of the sun and seasons, they added a month every other year, and thereby formed the Trieteris, more properly called Dieteris. And when they found this biennial cycle too long, so as to need a correction once in eight years, they thereby formed the Octoeteris of the ancients, the half of which was their Tetraeteris: and these cycles were as ancient among the Greeks as the days of Cadmus and Minos, and Hercules Ideus, and the great Bacchus, or Osiris: and therefore seem to have been brought into Greece by the ancient colonies of the Egyptians and Phœnicians, and army of Bacchus. Afterwards some Greeks altered the manner of inserting the three intercalary months; and, at length, when they found that the Octoeteris was too short for the seasons and course of the sun, and wanted to be corrected sometimes by the course of the sun, to make it keep to the seasons, Meton found out the *Cyclus decemnovalis*, in which seven months were added in nineteen years, and this cycle is still in use. And as for the length of the months, some of the Greeks made them to consist of twenty-nine days, and thirty, alternately; and by this cycle were enabled to keep a reckoning without correcting it by the course of the moon above once in a year or two.

The Chaldeans reduced the luni-solar year to a cycle of twelve years, and therefore seem to have added a month to the end of every third year, and at the end of every twelve years to have rectified their cycle by the courses of the sun and moon: for all cycles of years were for regulating the intercalation of months.

The luni-solar year being of an uncertain length, and for that reason unfit for astronomical uses; the Egyptians, when for the sake of navigation, they applied themselves to the observation of the stars, measured the just length of the solar year by the heliacal risings and settings of the stars, and laying aside the calendar year, made the solar year to consist of 365 days; and this year was received by the astronomers at Babylon, by the Persian magi, and by the Greeks in their *Æra Philippæa*; and being corrected by Julius Cæsar, by the addition of a day in four years, became the year of the Romans, and has been farther corrected by Pope Gregory XIII.

On the contrary, the people of Arabia Felix, using the old year of twelve lunar months, without correcting it by the sun, have propagated down to the Mahometan nations a

year purely lunar, keeping their months to the courses of the moon.

Thus you see all nations have endeavoured to make their years keep to the courses of the sun and moon, or one of them; and therefore that any nation should use a year of 360 days, without regarding the course of either luminary, is not to be believed without good proof. Simplicius, in his commentary on the 5th of Aristotle's Physical Acroasis, (*apud Theodor. Gazam de Mensibus*) tells us,

"We seat the beginning of the year either upon the summer solstice, as the people of Attica, or upon the autumnal equinox, as the inhabitants of Asia, or upon the winter solstice as the Romans do, or upon the vernal equinox, as do the Arabians and people about Damascus; and the beginning of the month either upon the full moon with some, or upon the new." He tells us, that the ancient year of the Romans, Greeks, Asiatics, Syrians, and Arabians, was luni-solar, and agreed with the courses of the sun and moon: so the year which the Israelites brought out of Egypt was luni-solar, and began in autumn, and Moses removed the beginning to the spring, and the first month thereof was called Abib, from the earing of the corn in that month. And accordingly Diodorus tells us, that Uranus, an ancient king of Egypt and Lybia, used the luni-solar year: so also the year which the Samaritans brought from the provinces of the Assyrian empire, and that which the Jews brought from Babylon, was luni-solar, and began in the spring. The Chaldees were an Arabic nation, and Arabian years were luni-solar, and began in the spring as above. And Scaliger and others inform us, that the ancient years of Persia, India, China, and the adjacent isles were also luni-solar. And the nature of a luni-solar year is to consist of lunar months, and solar periods.

Geminus tells us, that all the ancient Greeks, by their laws, and the dictates of their oracles, made their years agree with the sun, and their months, and days of the month, with the course of the moon, so that the same sacrifices might always fall upon the same seasons of the year, and upon the same days of the lunar month; and that they counted this acceptable and grateful to the gods, and according to the institutions of their country. And Cicero saith that the Sicilians and other Greeks, to make their days and months agree with the courses of the sun and moon, sometimes took away a day or two from the month (that is, from the calendar month of thirty days) and sometimes made the month larger by one or two days. And Censorinus, that the

several nations of Italy had their several years, but all of them by months variously intercalated, and corrected their civil calendar years by that one true natural year. By this practice therefore, the ancient festivals and solemnities of the nations of Greece, Sicily, and Italy, which were celebrated on certain days of certain months, (as the Olympiads, and Pythick games, Bacchanalia, Cercalia, &c.) kept to the same seasons of the year, and Hesiod's year began in summer after the rising of the Pleiades, and his month *Lenæon* was a winter month, as he represents. And by the like practice, the months of the Asiatics kept their seasons. For Galen tells us, *Quod tempus Romæ est September, Pergamanis apud nos, Hyperborelæus, Athenis vero Mysteria, ea namque erant Boedromione*. And the same is to be understood of the years and months of the Jews. The Sanhedrim proclaimed the new moons upon the first appearance of the new moon, and if the corn was not ripe enough for offering the first fruits thereof, upon the middle of the 13th month, they added that month to the old year, and began the new year with the 14th. And by some such practice, the months of the Chaldaic years also kept to the same seasons. For as the Dieteris, Tetraeteris, and Octoeteris of the Greeks, arose from the intercalation of months, so did the Dodecaeteris of the Babylonians; and the end of such intercalations, was to make the year keep to the sun, and the months to the seasons. Suidas tells us that 120 *sari* are 2220 years, according to the reckoning of the Chaldeans, a *sarus* containing 222 lunar months, which are eighteen years six months: in this reckoning twelve lunar months make the year of the Chaldees, and eighteen such years and six months (I think he means intercalary months) make the *sarus*. And Athenæus, lib. 14, tells us out of Berossus, that upon the 16th day of the month *Lous*, (that is on the 16th day of the lunar month, called *Lous* by the people of Macedonia) the Babylonians celebrated annually the feast of *Sacæa*. This feast therefore kept to the same season of the year, and so did the Babylonian lunar month, in which it was seated.

When therefore Cleobulus, one of the seven wise men, or Hippocrates, or Herodotus, or Aristotle, or Plutarch, or Manetho, describe the ancient year of the Greeks, Romans, or Egyptians, to consist of twelve equal months, or 360 days; or Cyrus, in allusion to those days, cut the river Gindes into 360 channels: or the Athenians in allusion to the same days erected 360 statues to Demetrius, they are to be understood of the calendar year of the ancients, not yet corrected by the courses of the sun and moon. And when they had at

Athens four *φύλα* intimating the four seasons of the year, twelve *φάσεις* και *τρίους* according to the months, every *φάσις* had thirty *γῆραι*, corrected from time to time by the heavens, so as to make it keep the four seasons. And when Herodotus intercalates a month of 30 days every other year, he is to be understood of the Dieteris of the Ancients, continued for seventy years together, without correcting it by the moon. And when Moses reckons the duration of the flood, by months of thirty days, he is to be understood of the calendar months, not corrected by the moon, by reason of the rainy weather, which did not suffer her to appear. And when David appointed twelve courses of guards, one for every month in the year, (I Chron. xxvii.) he had respect only to the calendar months of the Mosaic year, leaving the intercalary months unprovided, because they were uncertain, and might be supplied by the twelve courses alone; the course which should serve upon the first month of the next year, serving upon the intercalary month when it happened, and the next course serving upon the first month of the next year. And when the Babylonians, as Diodorus tells us, say that there are twelve chief gods, and to every one of these assign a month, and a sign in the zodiac, and say that through these twelve signs the sun makes his course every year, and the moon every month, they describe the Chaldaic year to be solar, and to consist of twelve equal lunar months, answering to the twelve signs with their degrees, and mean the months and days in the calendar year, not yet corrected by the courses of the sun and moon: and by the relation and correspondence which those months have to the twelve signs, they fix them to the seasons of the year, by such corrections as were to be made for that purpose. This year the Jews, during their stay at Babylon, made use of in their contracts and civil affairs, and in their journey from Babylon to Jerusalem, brought it home along with them, calling their own months ever after, by the names of the Babylonian; which they would not have done if their own lunar months had not been the same with those of Babylon.

So then the luni-solar year with its calendar, was very ancient and universal, being used by Noah, and propagated down from him to his posterity, and giving occasion to the division of the zodiac into twelve signs, and that of a circle into 360 degrees, and to the invention of the Dieteris, Tetræteris, and other ancient cycles, for avoiding the trouble of correcting it every month by the moon, and every year by the sun, and continuing to be used in Egypt till



the institution of their solar year of 365 days in Chaldea, and the nations adjacent, till the expedition of Cyrus over Gindes, and his taking of Babylon: in Greece, till the days of the seven wise men, and the reign of the Persians and Greeks: and in Italy till the reign of the Latins, and was at length resolved by the Arabians into their lunar year. I meet with no other years among the ancients than such as were either luni-solar, or solar, or lunar, or the calendars of those years. A practical year of 360 days is none of these. The beginning of such a year would have run round the four seasons in seventy years, and such a notable revolution would have been mentioned in history, and is not to be asserted without proving it.

I. NEWTON.

1755, Jan.

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XVII. Classic Authors perverted.

MR. URBAN,

IT has been the common practice of authors, not of the lowest class, to quote passages from the Ancients, in confirmation of some opinion of their own, though to the utter perversion of the writer's meaning; some scrap is frequently taken for a motto, which standing alone, or being combined with other words, which are not immediately connected with it in the original, conveys a sense often very different and sometimes directly opposite to that which was intended by the writer. An author of a tract in defence of Atheism might put as his motto, *there is no God*, and quote the inspired writer David; but if the whole sentence be taken, *the fool hath said in his heart there is no God*, a meaning diametrically opposite will be expressed.

Many passages in the Latin Classics have been generally mistaken by their having been thus perverted, possibly by those by whom they were understood. I shall at present only take notice of that celebrated line of Persius,

*Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter,*

which has been generally taken as an encouragement of those who make an ostentatious parade of their learning.

But it is evident by the context, that the meaning of Persius was the contrary; and that he was censuring what he is generally supposed to recommend.

Quo didicisse, nisi hoc fermentum, at quæ semel intus  
Innata est, rupto jecore exierit caprificus?

These are the preceding words of Persius's friend, *To what purpose is all my learning, if I do not get rid of the modesty which restrains me from publishing it?* To which Persius answers,

En pallor, seniumque! O mores! usque adeone  
Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?

*Thou Fool! is thy learning of no advantage to thee, except thou settest it forth to shew?* The use of learning is not to procure popular applause, or excite vain admiration; but to make the possessor more virtuous, and his virtue a more conspicuous example to those that are illiterate.

Yours, &c.

1755, Jan.

R. S.

#### XVIII. Obscure Phrases explained.

MR. URBAN,

*SPICK* and *span new* is an expression, the meaning of which is obvious, though the words want explanation; and which, I presume, are a corruption of the Italian, *spiccata da la spanna*, 'shatched from the hand,' *opus ablatum incude*; or according to another expression of our own, *fresh from the mint*; in all which the same idea is conveyed by a different metaphor. It is well known that our language abounds with *Italicisms*, and it is probable the expression before us was coined when the English were as much bigotted to Italian fashions, as they now are to those of the French.

There is another expression much used by the vulgar, wherein the sense and words are equally obscure: the expression I mean is, *An't please the pigs*, in which there is a peculiarity of dialect, a corruption of a word, and a common figure, called a metonymy; for in the first place, *an* in the midland counties is used for *if*; and *pigs* is most assuredly a corruption of *Pyx*, (from *Pyxis* and *Πύξ*;) a vessel in which the host is kept in Roman Catholic countries. In the last place the vessel is substituted for the host itself, by an easy

metonymy, in the same manner as when we speak of the *sense of the House*, we do not mean to ascribe sense to *bricks and stones*, but to a certain number of representatives. The expression, therefore, means no more than *Deo volente*, or as it is translated into modern English by coachmen and carriers, *God willing*.

1755, March.

G. S.

XIX. Critical Explanations of the word Earing.

*And yet there are five years, in the which there shall be neither earing nor harvest.*

GEN. xlv. 6.

MR. URBAN,

THIS word *earing* occurs in other places of scripture, but I have pitched upon this, because this chapter being twice read as a Sunday lesson, in the public service of the church, this passage, it is presumed, may be the best known. The word is grown obsolete, and partly through disuse, but chiefly from its being so like in sound and its present orthography to the *ear* or *spica* of the corn, I have observed the sense of it to be sometimes mistaken by writers, from whence I conclude that others, who are unacquainted with the learned languages, must consequently be liable to the same error.—Thus the Earl of Monmouth, in his translation of Boccacini, p. 11, says, “The plowers of poetry have seen their fields make a beautiful shew in the spring of their age, and had good reason to expect a rich harvest, but when, in the beginning of July, the season of *earing* began, they saw their sweat and labours dissolve all into leaves and flowers;” where he evidently means by the *season of earing*, the time when the corn runs into the ear, in opposition to the time of ploughing. Another mistake concerning the sense of this word, incurred by Mr. Theobald, will be mentioned below.

But to *ear* signifies to *plough*, and is always used in that sense by our old writers; so Isa. xxx. 24. *The oxen likewise and the young asses that ear the ground, shall eat clean provender, &c.* So Speed, p. 416, says, the Danes “grieved the poore English, whose service they employed to *eare* and till the ground, whilst they themselves sat idle, and *eate* the

fruit of their paines." Dr. Wickliffe, in his New Testament; Lu. xvii. 7. writes, "*But who of you hath a servant eringe,*" where the Vulgate version, from whence the Dr. made his translation, has *arantem*. The sense is clear, and the word is evidently the Anglo-Saxon *erian*, which signifies to *plough*, and is plainly derived from the Latin *aro*, and what we now call *arable land*, Greenway, in his translation of Tacitus's Account of Germany, calls *earable land*, from the Latin *arabilis*. In this text therefore, *earring* and *harvest* are opposed to one another, as two different extremes, just as *seed time* and *harvest* are, Gen. viii. 22. to the former of which it manifestly answers, and the sense consequently is, *in the which there shall neither be ploughing nor harvest*. However, before I dismiss this subject, I would beg leave to animadvert a little upon a criticism and note of Mr. Theobald, in his Shakespeare, where he too, as was said above, has committed a small error in relation to this word. The line in the author is,

We are to cure such sorrows, not to sow 'em.

Hen. VIII. Act iii. Sc. I.

whereupon this annotator writes, "There is no antithesis in these terms, nor any consonance of the metaphors; both which my emendation restores,

"We are to *ear* such sorrows, not to *sow* 'em.

that is, to weed them up, harrow them out. This word with us may be derived not only from *arare* to *plough*, but the Saxon word *ear* which signified a *harrow*."

But this consonance of metaphors, which he mentions, and which these critical gentlemen are perpetually hunting after, are not always needful, because metaphors often occur singly; and it is certain that in the present case the *antithesis* is sufficiently preserved in the other reading, it being unquestionably the business of ecclesiastics, such as Wolsey was, to heal and cure people's sorrows, and not to occasion them. So before, the Queen says,

'Would I had never trod this English earth,  
Or *felt* the flatteries that *grow* upon it!

where I wonder this editor did not think of correcting

Or *reap'd* the flatteries that *grow* upon it!

which, according to him, would be carrying on the metaphor, and be far more consonant to *earth*, and *growing*, than the present reading *felt* is. But, as I said, metaphors may stand single, and were we always to be altering and emending our authors for the sake of maintaining the *consonance* he talks of, our writers in time would so differ from themselves as hardly to be known. But this itch of correcting is so strongly ridiculed by Martin Scriblerus, in his *Virgilius Restauratus*, subjoined to the *Dunciad*, that I need say no more of it.

But what is worst in this emendation of Mr. Theobald's, the word *ear* does not signify to *harrow*, but to *plough*; it neither means to *weed up*, nor to *harrow out*, and consequently can have no place here, since thereby the *antithesis*, which is undoubtedly necessary, is entirely lost. Mr. Theobald knew, that the word *ear* came from *arare*, and signified to *plough*, but, to serve his own purpose, he will have it mean to *harrow* too, as if there were no difference between them; besides to *harrow* does not convey the notion of *weeding out*, but rather of *covering*, which absolutely destroys the *antithesis*. And then lastly, he asserts, in support of this wretched emendation, which ought upon so many accounts to be rejected, that the Saxon word *ear* signifies a *harrow*, which is not true; and thus his attempt upon this passage, is not only needless, but also contrary to the sense and meaning of the author, and, lastly, has no ground or foundation to stand upon.

1755, May.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

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*A further explanation of Genesis xlv. 6.*

MR. URBAN,

ADMITTING that Mr. Gemsege has rightly settled the meaning of the word *earring* in the English version of Gen. xlv. 6. yet, as it seems to me, a difficulty remains in regard to the text itself, which I would here beg leave to propose. The words are these, *These two years hath the famine been in the land; and yet there are five years, in the which there shall neither be earring nor harvest.* Now, from the nature of things, and more especially from the frame and constitution of the human species, which is ever desirous of preserving life, it is most natural, that in a famine, people should be trying all they could to procure a crop, especially

if they have seed enough to sow, as was the case here. See chap. xli. Nay, if the famine continued from year to year, as it did in this instance, we must necessarily suppose, that the people growing more and more distressed, and more and more impatient, would be the more ardent and eager to make their attempts by ploughing and sowing. How then was it, that there was not to be a seed-time any more than a harvest, since there might be, and one would think naturally would be, the former, though not the latter? Shall we say, that the book of Genesis being written after the fact, the author has expressed himself according to the fact; or rather, that not confining himself to the strictness of the letter, he has made use of a common phrase, as intending thereby to denote the intenseness of the famine? These reasons may satisfy some, but my conception of the matter is this: we are to consider the nature of the country, of which Joseph here more particularly speaks, the land of Egypt, which depended altogether upon its fertility for the inundation of its river, the river Nile, that if the Nile did not rise to a certain degree, or did exceed in its rising another certain degree, it was to no purpose for the people to plough and sow, for their labour would not succeed. These degrees of overflowing were investigated by experience; and the Nilometer, now called the Mikyas, of which, as I remember, you have a very exact description in Dr. Pococke's Travels, was invented for the purpose of shewing the degree of the inundation, to wit, whether, on the one hand, there was either a deficiency or an excess, or, on the other, only a necessary and commodious flow. There now was an event that affected the ploughing and sowing, as well as the harvest, the former as well as the latter; and if the necessary degrees of overflowing were known at this time, as I suppose they were, (this era being long enough after the first peopling of the country, for the purpose of making the proper observations) one needs only suppose that Joseph, by the excellent spirit that was in him, foresaw that for five years then to come, the irregularities of the river would be such, one way or the other, as to prevent all tillage, (without which we are certain there could be no harvest) and then he could just as easily pronounce concerning the tillage, as he could upon the harvest. It is very clear from the context, that this famine was pretty general, in particular from chap. xli. v. 56. *And the famine was over all the face of the earth*, from whence it should seem the distemper was seated in the atmosphere, which of course would affect the periodical swelling of the Nile.

The cause probably was a great drought uncommonly prolonged, and it is well known that Egypt very often suffers from this cause.

I am yours, &c.

1755, June.

S. P.

XX. Biblical Difficulty obviated.

MR. URBAN,

THE annotation of Genesis xlv. in your Magazine of June last, has led me to take notice of another passage of scripture, which depends upon the same event, to wit, the inundation of the Nile, and may seem to want a word of explanation. The sacred historian, a writer contemporary with the fact, and actually residing in the country at the time, after speaking of the plague of hail, and the terrible devastations committed by it, Exodus ix. observes at verse 31, 32, "And the flax and the barley were smitten; for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was balled. But the wheat and the rye were not smitten; for they were not grown up." That the barley should be forwarder than the wheat and rye, is so contrary to the ideas we now have of agriculture, especially in this country, where we yearly see the reverse, that this text is a great block in the way of the honest husbandman, and, I presume, of many others. But let it be considered, that our hard corn, as it is called, is sown here before Christmas; this necessarily gives it the start of our common barley, which is seldom thrown into the ground till April or May. But the case in Egypt, of which the author is here speaking, was very different; for there the grain of wheat and barley and rye were all sown at one time, to wit, as soon as the lands were ready after the retreat of the river. Barley then being a corn of a much quicker growth than either wheat or rye, it would of course be forwarder than them, and might be in the ear before they were grown up; or as it is the Hebrew, (*see the margin of our translation*) whilst they were hidden; by which we are not to understand hidden in the ground, but within the stem or stalk, and consequently were near upon shooting, but not shot. See Bishop Patrick upon the place.

That the barley harvest was the first in other warm climates, as well as Egypt, appears from 2 Samuel, xxi. 9.

94. *Ancient and fabulous History not always allegorical.*

where it is said, "And they fell all seven together, and were put to death in the days of harvest, in the first days, in the beginning of barley harvest," which at verse 10. is expressed more generally, *the beginning of harvest.*

Yours, &c.

1755, July.

P. GEMSEGE.

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XXI. *Ancient and Fabulous History not always allegorical.*

MR. URBAN,

THE mythologists, in explaining the fabulous histories of the ancient Greeks and Romans, are very apt to run into physicalities and moralities. This is the case of Natalis Comes, the French authors, and indeed of most others, except Jac. Tollius, who chose to resolve them into the art of chemistry. I cannot but say, it is natural enough to fall into this way of interpretation, for besides the labours of Porphyry in this kind, and that the Roman poet points it out to us so very plainly, where speaking of Orpheus, he says,

Silvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum  
Cædibus et victu fœdo deterruit Orpheus;  
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones.

*Hor. A. P. 391, seq.*

I say, besides this, you can hardly relate any fact, in the way of narrative, that is not capable of having some plausible turn, either physical or moral, given to it, and, in some cases, perhaps both. And yet I think it would be wrong to be always harping upon these strings, because, as I apprehend, there is one branch of mythology, to wit, that of the frequent *metamorphoses* to be met with in Ovid and other writers, which in a great measure took its original from another cause, namely, from the mere wanton and luxuriant genius of the Greeks, without any regard had either to morality, or natural causes and effects. This nation, being endowed with a great fertility of invention, being naturally fond of the marvellous, and by no means incommoded by any strictness of attachment unto truth, devised a fable very easily, either for the origin of a flower, or a bird, or a beast; in the doing of which they seem to have had no other



view, but to please and to amuse the fancy, by imagining a hero or a nymph of the name of those flowers and animals, and then equipping them with some entertaining and well-told story.

To this observation, Sir, I was led by reflecting, that the names of these heroes and nymphs are no other than the appellative or common names of those plants and animals, and consequently were assumed, feigned, and invented from them. This, Sir, is the ground of my assertion, which at this time may be made good in many instances, and perhaps at the first might have been proved in all and every one.

After the flood, the stones which Deucalion thrēw over his head became men, and those that Pyrrha cast became women, all because *λᾶς* in the Greek signifies a *stone*, and *λαός* a *people*, as is observed by Hyginus, whose words are, “*ob eam rem laos dictus; las enim Græce lapis dicitur.*” Hyginus, p. 224. edit. Munkeri, where see the annotation.

Lycaon was turned for his barbarity into a wolf; the word *λυκος* signifies a *wolf*, and so did the word *lycaon*, for though we do not find it in our lexicons now, yet there is reason to think it an ancient Greek word; for Pliny, who wrote chiefly from the Greeks, tells us in his Nat. Hist. lib. viii. c. 34. that the Lycaon, or Indian wolf, changed his colours.

Daphne, beloved by Apollo, was changed into a laurel; the case is, *Δαφνη* is the Greek word for the *laurus*; and I do not find that they had any other word for this tree.

The like observation I make as to the Narcissus, into which, according to Ovid, a certain young man, who was a great admirer of himself, was turned. The Greeks had no other name for this flower but *Ναρκισσος*.

The same may be said of the Hyacinth.

Philomela was changed into a nightingale; now Philomela, in Greek *Φιλομηλη*, is one of the names of that bird, as is plain from Virgil; Georg. iv. 511, and is clearly an appellative adapted to the known property of the bird; for it signifies a *lover of melody*. This shews, that the name of the lady was borrowed from the bird, and her story invented for the sake of countenancing the change.

But as strong a case as any is that of the nymph Syrinx: Pan was the inventor of the Syrinx, an instrument of music consisting of a variety of reeds.

Pan primus calamos cera conjungere plures  
Instituit. —————

He was also very expert in playing on this instrument.

Mecum una in silvis imitabere Pana canendo.

*Virg. Ecl. ii.*

Now how did the Grecian fancy dress up all this? Why, Syrinx, according to them, was a beautiful nymph, Pan became enamoured of her, she ran away to avoid so disagreeable a lover, and coming to a river, she prayed the Naiades to change her into a bundle of reeds just as the god was going to lay hold of her, who thereupon caught the reeds in his arms instead of her. These reeds being moved backward and forward by his sighs, afforded a musical, though a mournful sound, whereupon Pan cut them down and made them into pipes. A very pretty tale this, all imagined from the name given by the ancients to this instrument, and that it was originally composed of reeds.

Yours, &c.

1755, *Sept.*

P. GEMSEGE.

MR. URBAN,

ANOTHER branch of the ancient *mythology*, which it would be absurd to decypher, either by a physical or moral interpretation, is the frequent allusions to very remote history: such as the important events which have really happened in the old time to the body or bulk of this terraqueous globe. The name of Phaeton in Greek, Φαιδων which signifies *lucidus*, is plainly given to the son of Clymene from the event. It is also an epithet of Apollo, considered as the sun. There is no metamorphosis indeed in the case of Phaeton, but his story is nevertheless observable on account of the event it may be supposed to allude to, and which, I think, wants pointing out.

Now it is very certain that Ovid, who had been so conversant with the Greek writers, had either seen the Greek version of the Bible himself, or had made use of authors that had extracted much from it. This last is perhaps the most probable. The account he gives in his first book of the *chaos*, the formation of man, the golden age, the giants, their attempt against heaven, the wickedness of man, and the deluge consequent upon it, are evidently adumbrated from the Jewish scriptures. Now, the story of Phaeton implies an event as general as that of the flood, from whence one would incline to imagine it to have been taken

by somebody from the History of the Bible; but quære, from what part of that book? Perhaps from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, or, as I rather think, from the sun's standing still in the time of Joshua. What induces me to fix upon this fact, preferable to the other, is, that the effect, though not so violent, yet was of far more universal extent. And if this astonishing miracle happened about mid-day, and in the month of June, according to Lyra, an intense heat of the sun for twenty-four hours (which is what I understand by *a whole day*) superadded to what would be naturally produced on a common day at that time of the year, might very well, in the warm regions of the east, be attended with some very singular circumstances, and enough, if transmitted, as the like events usually were, with a traditional aggravation, to give rise to a fable. However, either of these portions of sacred history afford a better ground for the story of Phaeton than that suggested in the Pantheon, to wit, a great fire that happened in Italy near the Po, in the time of King Phaeton.

1755, Nov.

P. GEMSEGE.

XXII. *Virgil illustrated.*

MR. URBAN,

I HAVE always been of opinion, that there is no such thing as understanding our ancient authors, whether sacred or profane, without a competent knowledge of antiquity; without an almost exact acquaintance with the manners and customs, the funeral and religious ceremonies, the habits, &c. of the several ancients, whose writings we are daily perusing; as likewise of the attributes and representations of their deities. They who make the tour of Italy have a noble opportunity of laying in a rich stock of this most useful branch of knowledge, from those excellent originals of gems and statues they are so often favoured with the sight of; and when I consider what a multitude of passages in Virgil, and Horace, and Juvenal, were illustrated by the late Mr. Addison, (who set out with an immense fund of classical learning) both in his *Travels* and his *Treatise on Medals*, I cannot but envy those who are repairing into the same climate, at a time when it has been enriched with the recent discoveries at Herculaneum. What led me to these reflections

tions is a passage in Virgil, which I think has not yet been fully understood, for want of attending to an antique custom. It is *Eclog.* i. 34.

Quamvis multa meis exiret victima sepiis,  
Pinguis et ingrata premeretur caseus urbi,  
Non unquam *gravis ære* domum mihi *dextra* redibat.

Tityrus says, that while he was enamoured of his first mistress, he never could thrive, notwithstanding all the care and pains he took; *his right hand never came home heavy from market*. Now, though it be a common expression to say *a handful of money*, or to go *empty-handed*, yet this is not all, for there seems to be here an allusion to that custom which the ancients had of carrying their purse in their right-hand; and in a gem of Leonardo Agostino, Part I. No. 199, there is a figure of Mercury, who was the god of gain, with a purse in that hand\*. But I will cite you a passage from the *Æneid*, which is perfectly unintelligible, unless you have recourse to this custom to explain it. *Æneid* vi. 613, enumerates amongst the damned those who had defrauded their masters,

—Nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras.

But how should *fallere dextras* express robbing a master, unless the reader happens to recollect, that the purse was usually carried in that hand? When that is once known, the phrase becomes instantly clear and very expressive, and the two passages in the *Æneid* and *Eclogue* very happily and very finely illustrate one another.

Yours, &c.

1756, *March*.

PAUL GEMSEGER.

### XXIII. Comment on the old Play of *Albumazar*.

MR. URBAN,

MR. DODSLEY has presented the world with a select collection of old plays in twelve volumes; I hope it has answered to him as a tradesman, for I am sure we are greatly

\* See also Spence's *Polymetis*, Montfaucon, and other authors.

obliged to him for the undertaking, since the original editions of many of these dramatic performances are now grown so scarce, that it is difficult to make any tolerable assemblage of them; and could that be done, yet it would amount to a very considerable expense. But, Sir, I have sometimes been of opinion, that a thirteenth volume is still wanting, which I propose should contain a series of necessary remarks upon the several plays in the collection; sometimes to give a critique upon the plot, or to deduce a short history of the play; sometimes to explain an old custom or piece of history, which are often alluded to; and at other times to expound an obsolete word or antique phrase. And certainly I must think, since Cicero has declared, "*mihi quidam nulli satis eruditi videntur, quibus nostra ignota sunt*," to comment upon these old plays must be every whit as laudable, and even as useful, as to explain a tragedy of Sophocles, or a comedy of Aristophanes, upon which the literati, with great pomp and ceremony, will often lay out themselves, and consume an infinite deal of time.

But to make you the more sensible of what I would have done, and therewith to give you a specimen, as it were, of the design proposed, I will here take the comedy of *Albumazar*, the first in the ninth volume, and not the least valuable in Mr. Dodsley's collection, and offer a few necessary illustrations upon it.

The account Mr. Dodsley gives us of this piece is this: "I can give no account of this play, or its author, but that it was acted before his majesty at Cambridge, by the gentlemen of Trinity college, and printed in 1634. It was afterwards thought worthy of being revived by Mr. Dryden," &c. By this one is led to imagine it was written in King Charles the First's time, who was upon the throne in 1634. Mr. Dodsley, I presume, took his account from the title, as likewise did the author of a book, intitled, "*The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets*," printed 1698, or then abouts, where the author registering this piece amongst the *unknown authors*, at p. 156, writes "*Albumazar, a comedy 4to. 1534, played at Cambridge before the king, by the gentlemen of Trinity college; afterwards revived at the king's house, with a new prologue written by Mr. Dryden.*"

The play passes, you see, Sir, for the work of an unknown author, and is supposed to have been acted in the reign of King Charles I. and thirdly, it is intimated that the first

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\* *Cic. de Finibus, Lib. 1.*

edition of it was A.D. 1634. But in regard to these particulars I shall here discover the author, and at the same time rectify the two latter suggestions.

King James I. made a progress to Cambridge and other parts, in the winter of the year 1614, as is particularly taken notice of by Rapin, vol. ii. p. 156, who observes, that the play called Ignoramus was then acted before his majesty at Cambridge, and gave him infinite pleasure. I found in the library of Sir Edward Deering, a minute in manuscript, of what passed at Cambridge for the five days the king stayed there, which I shall here transcribe, for it accords perfectly with the account given by the historian, both of the king's progress, and the play intitled Ignoramus, and at the same time will afford us the best light to the matter in hand.

"On Tuesday the 7th of March, 1614, was acted before the king in Trinity College Hall,

1. *Æmilia*, a Latin comedy, made by Mr. Cecill, Johannis. On Wednesday night,

2. *Ignoramus*, the Lawyer, Latine, and part English; composed by Mr. Ruggle, Clarensis.

On Thursday,

3. *Albumazar*, the Astronomer, in English, by Mr. Tomkis, Trinit.

On Friday,

4. *Melanthe*, a Latin pastoral, made by Mr. Brookes, (vox doctor) Trinitatis.

On the next Munday,

5. *The Piscatory*, an English comedy, was acted before the university, in King's college, which Master Fletcher of that college had provided if the king should have tarried another night."

And the king, before whom this comedy was first played, was not King Charles, but King James, and the author of it was Mr. Tomkis, of Trinity college, in the university of Cambridge, the gentlemen of which house played it, as I apprehend, in that college hall. Now this little portion of history is very signally verified by an edition of this play in 4to. A.D. 1614, which has happily come into my hands, and in the title of which is mentioned the very day of acting, consonant to the above manuscript minute. "*Albumazar*, a comedy, presented before the king's majestie at Cambridge, the ninth of March, 1614, by the gentlemen of Trinitie Colledge. London, printed by Nicholas Okes, for Walter Burre, 1615." I have a copy likewise of Dr. Brooke's Latin pastoral, intitled *Melanthe*, the title whereof runs, "*Melanthe, fabula pastoralis, acta cum Jacobus Magnus*

*Brit. Franc. et Hiberniæ Rex, Cantabrigiam suam nuper inviserat, ibidemque musarum atque animi gratia dies quinque commoraretur. Egerunt Alumni Coll. San. et individuae Trinitatis, Cantabrigiæ. Excudebat Cantrellus Legge, Mart. 27, 1615.*" It is remarkable, that in this exemplar, which formerly belonged to Matthew Hutton, the names of the masters of arts and bachelors, concerned in acting the play, are written against the respective dramatic personæ.

Now, Sir, as to the play of Albumazar, which may justly be esteemed one of the very best in this large collection; it takes its name from the principal character, a pretended astrologer, whom Mr. Tomkis thought fit to call Albumazar, from a learned Arabian astrologer of that name, that flourished in the ninth or tenth century.

Mr. Dryden, who, by making the observation, seems to have been well aware of the antiquity of this play, would intimate to us, that Ben Jonson formed his Alchymist upon the model of Albumazar, which indeed is doing Mr. Tomkis great honour, for the Alchymist is generally supposed to be the masterpiece of the learned Ben. These are his words.

And Jonson (of those few [writers] the best) chose this,  
As the best model of his master-piece;  
Subtle was got by our Albumazar,  
That Alchymist by our Astrologer;  
Here he was fashion'd, and we may suppose,  
He lik'd the fashion well, and wore the cloaths.

But if Albumazar was composed on occasion of King James's coming to Cambridge in 1614, the Alchymist was written before it, it being acted in the year 1610; and yet our author himself, at p. 46, seems to insinuate, that a play might be advantageously written upon the plan of an Alchymist, for he makes Albumazar say to Furbo, who asked him, what will you do?

First in, and usher out our changeling Trinculo,  
Then finish up a business of great profit,  
Begun with a rich merchant, that admires  
My skill in alchymy.

And yet I will not pretend to say, that Mr. Dryden was mistaken, because it cannot now be known from what anecdote he might say what he does: and because it is not impossible,

that our comedy might both be written and acted before 1610: though not played before the king till 1614\*.

I shall now enter on the illustration, beginning with the prologue:

Ladies, ———

If it be a fault to speak this foreign language,  
(For Latin is our mother tongue) I must entreat you  
To frame excuses for us; for whose sake  
We now speak English.

The exercises of the university were not only performed in Latin, but the plays written in this and the former reign, for the entertainment of the court, whenever it removed either to Oxford or Cambridge, were generally composed in that language. Thus *Æmilia*, *Ignoramus*, and *Melanthe*, all acted on this occasion, were in Latin. Both King James and Queen Elizabeth were Latinists †.

Yours, &c.

1756, May.

P. GEMSEGE.

#### XXIV. A Passage in Juvenal explained.

*Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno  
Exiudet Arviragus.* Juv. Sat. iv. 126.

MR. BAXTER observes, with great probability, that *Arviragus* here is not a proper name, but a title of office or dignity; the *Arvirag* or *Arvirag*, being the dictator chosen by the Britons in the time of war, to be the captain-general, or the generalissimo, as we now speak, and to have the command over all the other princes; and the word, he says,

\* The case was certainly so, for, p. 56, there is mention of Spinola's camp, who sat down before Ostend anno 1601, and took the town anno 1604. At p. 17, the author mentions the issue of the next summer's war. Now James I. was not at war in 1614, when the play was acted; but the English were concerned in the defence of Ostend, when Spinola besieged it, which again seems to carry the date of the play back to that time. But then it must be allowed, that upon the revival of this play before the king, some passages were added or retouched; for whereas, p. 14, the author mentions Coriat's Persicus, and his observations on Asia and Afric, Tom. Coriat did not set out upon that voyage till 1612. See Anth. Wood's *Athenæ*, Vol. I, c. 422.

[† These observations were not continued. E.]



signifies *altus vel summus Rex*. Baxter's Gloss, Antiq. Brit. p. 25. This interpretation certainly agrees very well with the place, and the preceding words *regem aliquem*, which seem to require not any particular but an indefinite person; and I find it is accordingly approved by Mr. Wise, in his Numismata, p. 226, and, indeed, well it might, since we are assured that the Britons had this species of dominion amongst them; that the like was enjoyed by Agamemnon at Troy; that the monarchs amongst the Anglo-Saxons, during the continuance of the Heptarchy, exercised the same sovereignty; and lastly, that in the nature of things, where a country was broken into small principalities, it would become absolutely necessary for the purpose of peace and unity, to vest in some one a power over the other princes.

As to the expression *de temone Britanno excidet*, not one of the numerous illustrators of Juvenal, in the copious edition of Henninius, has rightly touched the sense. Grangæus's note is,

*Temone] Pars pro toto, temo pro curru.*

Curio's is, *de curru dejicietur*.

An old commentator, cited by Lubinus, gives it thus, *mortuus est, et de regno expulsus*. But these are none of them the whole of the idea, which the poet meant to reach out to us. The *Temo* of a *Rheda* or *Essedum*, which are the names of the chariots used by the ancient Britons in war, was the pole that went between the horses, and was fastened to the *Jugum* or yoke. The Britons, as Cæsar tells us, de Bello Gallico, Lib. IV. c. 33. were so extremely expert at fighting with chariots, that they would run upon the pole, sit upon the yoke, and then retire again into the chariot, by which method of combat, so new to the Romans, the legions were often greatly embarrassed. Now to this extraordinary dexterity of the hero in engaging with his chariot, the author here evidently alludes, when, he says, some generalissimo shall fall from his pole; be assailed, and tumbled down, that is, whilst he was practising that agile movement. This method of fighting in chariots being so agreeable to the practice of the ancient oriental nations, the Trojans, Egyptians, Canaanites, Syrians, Persians, &c. has been thought to amount to an argument, that the Britons were descended from the Phœnicians, see Samme's Britannia, p. 120. but I cannot say I feel the force of it, since it appears to have been equally the custom of many nations in the west, as of the Greeks and Gauls, and, I suppose, of

others. However, since there is the appearance of a wheel upon many of the British coins, (see the first table of Nummi Britannici in Camden,) and always along with a horse, I am induced to believe, that as the Romans had their *Denarii Bigati* and *Quadrigati*, so the wheel upon these British coins was intended to point out the *Rhedæ* and *Esseda*. Indeed it is said, among the conjectures upon the British coins in Camden, col. cx. that the wheel under the horse, amongst the Romans, "intimated the making of a high-way for carts: so many of which being in the Romans' time made in this country, well deserve such a memorial;" but I know not how the learned author can establish his notion, that a wheel under a horse, upon a coin, intimated the making of an high-way for carts; nor can I discover why the British coins should be thought to allude to a Roman custom, rather than one of their own. Surely, it is much more natural to imagine they had their thoughts at home, and that a horse with a wheel must have a reference to their own chariots, which by their adroitness and conduct in the management of them, were so formidable even to the Romans themselves.

Yours, &c.

1757, Feb.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXV. Criticism on a Passage in Virgil.

*Non insueta graves tentabunt pabula fœtas,  
Nec mala vicini pecoris contagia ludent.*

Virgil, Ecl. i. 50.

MR. URBAN,

THAT *tento* may signify to *invade*, or *attack*, and in that sense may be applicable to a distemper; or any other disorder incident to cattle, we have a clear proof in those words of the Georgic, iii. 441.

Turpis oves tentat scabies—

In consequence of this interpretation it may come to mean *vitiare*, as Ruvius understands it here, to whose exposition I should willingly subscribe, were it not that the simple verbs

in the classics are so often used for their compounds, and that *tentabunt* for *distentabunt* affords a sense so apposite to this place. I therefore would render it, *would burst the pregnant ewes*, this being the effect of such enormous distention; for all sorts of cattle, and sheep as well as the rest, are apt to eat too much of fresh and luxuriant food, and feeding too greedily, to gorge themselves, when first they are put into a new pasture, as these ewes would frequently be, were Tityrus forced to remove from place to place, as Melibœus was with his flock of goats. This would be more dangerous to such as were with young, as these ewes were. Now the Eclogues of Virgil are extracts from Theocritus, and there are perpetual allusions in them to the customs and manners of the Greeks. And in Sicily, the country of both the interlocutors, the grass was so very luxuriant, and especially about Mount Ætna, that, as Strabo tells us, the sheep were often choked with fat. The ashes of the mountain, upon an eruption, he says, enrich the land in several respects, and then adds, *παινει δ' ἐπὶ τοσούτοις τὰ πρόβατα φασιν, ὥστε πνιγέσθαι, quibus adeo pingues reddi perhibent oves, ut rumpantur.* Strabo, Lib. vi.—I know not why the translator renders *πνιγέσθαι* by *rumpantur*, for it rather means *suffocated*, or *choked*. Bursting, however, would naturally often happen on their being put into fresh grounds. This fertility at the roots of Mount Ætna, was owing it seems, to a natural cause, and the case is the same at the bottom of Mount Vesuvius, as might be easily made appear by direct testimony, if needful. But what is more remarkable, the like destructive fertility is observed by authors in other parts of Sicily. I shall only cite the words of Signore Haym, who speaking of the country about Leontini, now called Lentini, says, “Cicerone, Diodoro, e Plinio dicono che il suo terreno era sì abbondante che vi nasceva il frumento naturalmente; e quello che vi si piantava rendeva cento per uno; ed Aristotele soggiunge che spesse volte i bestiami vi morivano per troppa grassezza.” *Il Tesoro Britannico del Sign. Haym.* Vol. ii. p. 59.

I conceive then, that in this passage of Virgil there are conveyed two different ideas, that fresh grass would neither burst the teeming ewes, nor would they be in danger of contagion from the scabby flocks of others. Now let us see how Mr. Dryden conducts the matter.

Your teeming ewes shall no strange meadows try,  
Nor fear a rot from tainted company.

He has translated the first verse very literally, according to the vulgar sense of *tento*, which means to *try*, but that is very poor and jejune, and in my opinion, not half expressive enough. And as to the second line, the rot is not here intended, but the scab; for the former is not contagious, whereas the latter is extremely so. I have no opportunity of consulting any other versions, some of which may have perhaps hit the sense of the author better than Mr. Dryden, and therefore can only substitute the following, which pretends to no more than just to express the poet's mind.

No new rank meads will burst your teeming ewes,  
Nor scabs from neighb'ring folds your flock abuse.

1757, *May*.

PAUL GEMSEGE,

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#### XXVI. Critical Remarks on Horace.

MR. URBAN,

THE author of the Trojan war was so much the admiration of the ancients, that, besides their styling him *the poet*, *καὶ ποιητὴς*, they thought they could discern in him the rudiments of all kinds of science. The moderns seem to me to be not much averse to the same opinion, for Sir William Trumbull, in a letter to Mr. Pope,\* speaking of those lines of Horace, Epist. i. 2.

Trojani belli scriptorem, maxime Lolli,  
Dum tu declamas Romæ, Præneste relegi;  
Qui, quod sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,  
Plenus ac melius Chrysippo et Cratore dicit.

And desiring him to proceed in his translation of this incomparable poet, has these words, "to make his works as useful and instructive to this degenerate age, as he, (Homer) was to our friend Horace, when he read him at *Præneste*; *Qui, quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non*, &c. I break off with that *quid non*? with which I confess I am charmed." And thus, Sir, the passage stands in the late edition of Mr. Pope's Works, without the least note or animadversion by the

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\* Pope's Works, Vol. vii. p. 159.

editor; and we are evidently given to understand, especially by the note of interrogation affixed to the words *quid non*, that every thing, in a manner, was to be learnt from this great author. I enter not here into the merits of the dispute, about the universality of Homer's knowledge and learning, to wit, whether the whole Cyclopædia of the arts and sciences are to be found in him, or not; for I only mean to suggest to you, that Sir William has certainly mistaken the Roman author's meaning in that place, and that there is no occasion for him or any one else to be so grossly charmed with these two little words *quid non*. *Quid non* there does not carry the sense of our English phrase, *what not?* for the verb *sit* is understood, or rather is to be repeated from the beginning of the verse, along with the adjective *utile*; and the whole, were it to be filled up, would run thus *quid sit utile, quid non sit utile*, &c. And this agrees best with our author's design in this passage, where he is expressly speaking of the ethic documents of the Grecian poet, and the moral lessons which may be profitably drawn from thence, which he says are more full and instructive than the precepts both of Chrysippus the stoic, and Crantor the academician. And it is remarkable in the case, that Homer makes the mischief and inconveniences of anger, so destructive in its consequences to the Greeks, the very subject of the Iliad, as appears from the invocation at the beginning, insomuch that the *quid non utile*, which, according to Horace, is taught us by Homer, is so obvious, that it cannot well be missed, and very principally alludes, no doubt, to anger and its fatal effects; I say principally, because I do not think it ought to be totally restrained to that, on account of the sequel of the epistle.

Yours, &c.

1757, June,

P. GEMSEGE.

## XXVII. Critique on a Passage in Paradise Lost.

MR. URBAN,

MR. WARTON, in his elegant observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, has taken occasion to offer an illustration of an expression in the Paradise Lost, which is equally new and satisfactory.

— The Galaxy, that milky way,  
Which nightly, as a circling zone, thou seest  
*Powder'd* with stars——\*

That ingenious critic thus explains this passage. “The milky way, which every night appears to you like a circling zone, besprinkled or embroidered with stars.” He subjoins, “To the majority of readers, I dare say, *powder'd* with stars, has ever appeared a very mean, or rather ridiculous metaphor.”† That this was a signification of the verb *powder*, in ancient literature, he proves by an allegation of numerous authorities, from Spenser, Jonson, Sydney, Harrington, Chaucer, Sackville, and Sandys. In confirmation of the sense here assigned to the word in question, I shall beg leave, by means of your Miscellany, to add an example or two.

We find *powder*, in the sense *embroider*, latinised (unless it be, that the Latin gave rise to the English word) in Dugdale's *Monasticon*; in a recital of the relics, vestments, &c. belonging to the chapel of St. George, at Windsor, viz. Under the article *Vexilla*. “*Item duo Vexilla poudrata cum armis dominis regis Angliæ.*” “*Also two banners embroidered with the arms of our Lord the King of England.*”‡ Again under the article *Velum cum Ridellis*. “*Item unum Velum quadragesimale, &c.—Et albi coloris cum garteris, et aquilis aurea poudratis.*” “*Also one veil for Lent, &c.—And another white veil with garters and eagles embroidered in gold.*”§ Again, under the article *lapæ*. “*Et alia de blodio satin poudrato cum arboribus aureis.*” “*And another cope of red satin embroidered with golden trees.*”¶ Again, under the article *panni*. “*Unus de serico poudrato cum diversis avibus et floribus.*” “*One cloth of silk embroidered with diverse birds and flowers.*”\*\* And in other passages of the same inventory.

The word likewise occurs in some original MS. collections, which I have lately consulted, relating to the treasury of the college of Stoke, by Clare, in the county of Suffolk, which were drawn from the registers of that college, about

\* B. vii. v. 579.

† Sect. xi. p. 264.

‡ Tom. iii. part 2. Sub. Tit. Ecclesiæ Collegiat. Canonic. Scoul. Edit. Savoy, London. 1673, p. 87.

§ *Ridellum*, is a curtain. Fr. Rideau. Du Fresnoy, Glossar. Vol. iii. p. 610.

¶ P. 85.

¶ P. 81.

\*\* P. 84.

the time of its suppression, by its last dean, the memorable Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, viz.

"Thirdly, a chesable\* of white cloth *powder'd*† with costly images and angels of gold, togidder with orphreys‡ of gold, having the Trinity in the back, the Holy Ghost being of pearl; and also, divers pearles in the other images, with two tunicles of the same suit *powder'd*, and ecchone with morses.‡ And three albes and amisses with their apparell: the stoll is differing: of the gift of Hen. Langforde, sometime treasurer."

I remember also to have seen this word in Stow's Chronicle, concerning a robe of Cardinal Wolsey; and in a description of the furniture of a magnificent masque exhibited before the court of Henry VIII.

I cannot dismiss this subject without recommending the rational and effectual method employed by Mr. Warton in explaining Spenser; which principally consists in examining those books which Spenser had most probably read, and in tracing out his several allusions to the manners and customs which were fashionable and familiar when he composed his poem. Unless this be carefully done in criticising an author of so remote a period, many beauties must necessarily be lost with the object to which they are united, "as the figures vanish, when the canvass has decayed §."

Yours, &c.

1758, Feb.

A. A.

\* *Casula* signifies a priestly vestment covering the whole body. Hence came *Cassibula*, which signifies the same, and occurs in the will of W. Longspee, Earl of Salisbury, printed by Dug. Monast. Tom. ii. p. 79. He bequeaths among other things, "*Cassibulam de rubeo samito, et unam capam thori de rubeo samito.*" It is sometimes written *Casubula*, and is found in Faustus Monachus, in Vit. I. Popponis Abbatis, Cap. xiv. No. 58. "*In celebratione missarum, Casubulam qua induebatur lacrymis humectabat.*" Chasuble is an old French word for a priest's habit, and hence the word *Chesable* in the text; which is frequently met with in monastic inventories.

† *Orphreys* interpreted by Speght, Gloss. to Chaucer, "*Frizzelled cloth of gold.*" But it more properly signifies "*gold fringe.*" Lat. *Aurifrisium*, not the cloth itself, but its appendage. Hence by degrees it came to signify any border in general. Vid. Dagd. Monast. Tom. iii. part 1. "Two zopes, having an *orphrey* of red velvet," p. 296.—"Tunicles with *orphreys* of needle-work," p. 297.—"A narrow *orphrey* of pearles," p. 293. Eccles. Cath. Lincoln.

‡ *Morses*, Buckles. Lat. *Morsus*. Buckles were a striking decoration in the sacerdotal apparel. The curious reader may find various sorts of them described among the vestments, &c. of the church at York, Monastic. vol. 3. part 1. p. 173, 174, and of St. Paul, p. 309. And of St. George's chapel at Windsor, part 2. p. 83.

§ Johnson's proposals for a new edition of Shakespeare, p. 1

## XXVIII. Chaucer's Description of the Sleep of Plants.

MR. URBAN,

THE botanists pretend to have made a new discovery, which they call by a very pretty metaphorical name, *the sleep of plants*. I, Sir, who am no botanist in the least, have been long impressed with a notion that plants, some more and some less, are naturally contracted in their petals and leaves, by the coldness of the evening air, and on the contrary are expanded again by the return of the genial warmth of the sun. That this is so, is agreeable to nature and matter of fact, and that it should be so, is as consonant to reason. The fact is remarkably observable in the daisy, which towards the evening always erects and brings close its petals, and in the day time as constantly displays them. And this observation, concerning this flower, is as old as the time of Jeffrey Chaucer, who in the proeme to the *Legende of Good Women*, has the following lines.

59. There lovith no wight hartyer alyve,  
 And whan that it is evyn I rhyne belyve,  
 As sone as the sone ginneth to west,  
 To see this floure, how it *woll go to rest*,  
 For fere of night, so hatith the darkenes,  
 Her chere is plainly spread in brightnesse  
 Of the sonne for then it will unclose :

I have a MS. of this part of the author, from whence, to spare the trouble of reporting various readings, I have transcribed the above passage *literatim*. Those who are curious may compare it, if they please, with the printed copies of Chaucer, since there are some variations, which I think preferable to what at present are read in Mr. Urry ; however there are none that concern the subject of this letter. I proceed therefore to remark, 1st. That the shutting and opening of the flower is very plainly noticed. 2dly, That the poet has even pre-occupied the metaphor now used upon this occasion, *going to rest*, expressing very fully the modern term of *the sleep of plants*. 3dly. That this appearance is ascribed, by the author, to the flower's hating darkness and loving light, and not to the chilling cold of the evening, and the warmth of the sun in the day. For *darkness* here is to be understood literally ; the author having



particular notion of his own in this respect, as is plain from the etymology which he afterwards gives of its name. But before I transcribe that, I would note, that the author mentions again the opening of the flower in the morning, at v. 110, where he calls it its resurrection, and again at v. 117 and 123. Now, Sir, as to the etymon; he thinks it was called the *daisy*, quasi, *the day's eye*, *oculus diei*; for so he writes at v. 180. as in my MS.

The longe daie I shope me to abide  
For nothing ells, and I shall nat lie,  
But for to looke upon the daisie,  
That well by reson men it call maie  
The dayes ye, or els the ye of the daie.

I doubt the author is not right in his conjecture, for the word *daisy* comes rather, according to Dr. Skinner, from the French *dais* or *daiz*, 'a canopy;' this flower having something of a resemblance to a canopy of state. But this is of no consequence in the present case, since the author deduces it very well for his purposes, which was to express in it an abhorrence of darkness and a love of light. However, the figure of a canopy, or crown, is so obvious in this flower, that this author could not avoid taking notice of it, though he gives to the word a different etymology, hence he writes, v. 212, as it is in the MS.

And fro me farre came walking in the mede  
The god of love, and on his hande a quene,  
And she was clad in a roiall habite grene,  
A fret of golde she had next her here,  
And upon that a white crowne she bere  
With floures small, and I shall not lie,  
For all the world right as a daisie  
Icrounid is, with white levis lite,  
So were the floures of her crowne white,  
And of perle fyne and oryentall,  
Her white crowne was markidall,  
For the which the white crowne above the grene,  
Made her like a daisie for to sene,  
Considerith eke her fret of gold above.

Mr. Urry here has *considered*, which is certainly better. Chaucer again alludes to the same resemblance, v. 527. *seq.*

I will detain you no longer with transcripts, but leave you and the reader to consult the passage at leisure.

Yours, &c.

1758, June.

PAUL GEMSKGE.

XXIX. Critique on a Passage in Horace.

MR. URBAN,

A VERY elegant author, in his treatise de Arte Poetica, lays down amongst his other rules, the following maxim :

— Cui lecta potenter erit res,  
Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo.

HOR. A. P. 40.

He says, that if the future poet would always chuse a subject, that should be *within his compass*, he would never either be deficient in method or diction. It is evidently the author's intention to say this, for the maxim immediately follows this precept,

Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, æquam  
Viribus; et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,  
Quid valeant humeri.—

and the old commentator accordingly explains *potenter legere*, by *secundum quod potest*. But, Sir, this expression can never signify to chuse *modestly*, *within one's compass*, or, *in proportion to our abilities*, but rather the contrary, to wit, *secundum quod non potest*, for the adverbs formed from the participles *sapiens*, *potens*, *prudens*, &c. do not express proportion, as when we say, *in proportion to*, but quality. Thus *sapienter* means wisely, or in a wise manner; *potenter*, powerfully, or in a powerful manner; and *prudenter*, prudently, or in a prudent manner; consequently *potenter legere* will signify to chuse *boldly*, rather than *modestly*, which is directly opposite to the author's intention. Now it appears from the old commentator above cited, that the reading here, notwithstanding this inconsistency, is ancient, but still I would submit it to the critics, to judge, whether Horace did not write,

— Cui lecta pudenter erit res,  
Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo.

This certainly agrees best with the foregoing precept, is an Horatian word, and is used by this author in the very same sense at the 51st verse,

Dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter.

Yours, &c.

1758, *Sept.*

PAUL GEMSEGE.

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XXX. Observations on an Obsolete Latin Word.

MR. URBAN,

I SHOULD hardly have troubled you with the following observations concerning an obsolete and barbarous word, did they not concern a person of great distinction as an author, namely, the late Bishop Kennet, whose Parochial Antiquities are so generally, and indeed so justly, admired.

The ordinations of the vicarages of Godmersham in Com. Cant. and Dronfield, Com. Derb. the account of the Bedell of Boughton-Aluph, Com. Cant. Anno 9 Hen. V. Mr. Hearne, in his Curious Discourses, p. 77. William Thorne, in his Chronicle, *inter Decem Scriptores*, col. 2010, 2088, 2089, *et alibi*; *Glossaria Labbai vv. Aua et xni*; and, lastly, *Bede*, in his history, p. 255, do all present us with the word *Auca*, agreeing to write it with the fifth vowel. But Bishop Kennet, in the Parochial Antiquities, p. 455, misreading, as I presume, his original, has printed it *Anca*\*, several times; and in the Glossary to that work he has reported it accordingly, and has deduced it from *Anserina*, which to me seems very unnatural, and highly improbable; *n* and *u* in the MSS. of the later ages are so much alike, that they are very easily mistaken one for another.

You will please to observe, Sir, that the bishop consents so far as to allow that the word signifies *a goose*; but then he errs again in saying, that it is “generally female in distinction from the gander,” for there is no foundation in the world for such a distinction, the word in most cases meaning both sexes, to wit, the entire species.

You see, Sir, that in this one article of his Glossary, there are no less than three errors concerning this word; 1st. As to the orthography; 2dly. The etymology; and 3dly. The

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\* Bishop Gibson also in the Append. to the Codex, p. 35, writes *ancis*, misled probably by Dr. Kennet.

interpretation. There are more in the sequel, as to the English words *hunk*, and to *hanker after*, which I perhaps may notice by and by.

It seems to me that *Auca*, a term of the base Latinity, is a mere technical word, formed from the sound which the bird makes, when it cries; not so much when it cackles, as when it calls for its companions; and *quære*, whether the English word *awkward* be not more rationally deduced from *auca*, (this animal being both perverse and awkward) than from the Saxon *Æwerd*, from whence the glossographers generally derive it. And possibly the local northern word, *to squawk*, may have no other original but this, the initial letters *squ* being nothing but addition, by that figure, which the rhetoricians call *prosthesis*. Let the reader judge.

Now, as to the words *hunk*, and to *hanker after*, which I promised to touch upon, Bishop Kennet writes thus, "*anca*, *ancus*, was the thigh or hind leg,—*affer quatuor panes, affer uncum porci*, i. e. a leg of pork. Hence a *haunch* of venison; up to the *haunches* in dirt; and hence, with some allusion, to have a *hunk* upon, to *hanker after*." No doubt but the word *hanch* comes from the Latin and Italian *anca*, but mediately perhaps from the French *hanche*. *Anca* is probably from the Latin, *uncus*, which, as Festus says, signifies, *qui aduncum brachium habet, ut exporrigi non possit*, and M. Dacier upon Festus observes, that *Ancus Martius*, the third king of Rome, obtained his name from this circumstance. The Greek word *Αγκων*, signifies *cubitus*, and Junius inclines to think *anca*, or *hanch*, may come from thence "*ab αγκων, quod non modo cubitum, sed quemlibet membrorum flexum, Budæo auctore, significat*." The reader may take which etymology he pleases; but who can discern any allusion between the words *hank*, and to *hanker after*, and a leg of pork or a haunch of venison, as mentioned by the bishop? This surely is fetching things very far, when it is so obvious to deduce the substantive *hank*, in the phrase *to have a hunk upon a person*, from a hank of thread, which Dr. Lye very plausibly deduces from the Islandic '*hank*, '*vinculum*'; as if you should say, "*ita vinculis obstrictum aliquem habere, ut præ metu ad quænia, quæ volueris, præsto sit*." And so as to a *hank of thread*, he tells us, that *hank* and *haunk* in the Islandic language, is, "*junculus in forma circuli colligatus*." To *hanker after a thing*, seems to have a quite different original; this means *inhiare, anxie rem appetere*, and therefore the same learned author derives it from the Dutch *hunkeren*, which, I suppose, signifies '*to hunger*;' insomuch, that *to hanker after any thing*, means, to '*hunger after it*;' a manner of speaking of the

same import with that other metaphorical one, of thirsting after a thing.

Yours, &c.

1758, Oct.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXXI. A Passage in Virgil explained.

MR. URBAN,

VIRGIL being the prince of the Latin poets, it would be desirable to have every single passage in him rightly understood. There is one, however, in the first book, which the interpreters, those at least which I have an opportunity of consulting, do in general, methinks, mistake. The words are these :

Hæc ubi dicta, cavum, conversa cuspidē, montem  
Impulit in latus.

Æn. i. 85.

He is speaking of Æolus, the king of the winds, who, with his sceptre, say the interpreters, *quod celsa arce sedens manu tenebat*, v. 60. pierced the side of the mountain, and from the aperture therein made, the brother winds hastily and impetuously, and as it were in a crowd, rushed out. Thus Servius. "Cavum] ordo est; conversa cuspidē cavum montem in latus impulit. Et alibi :

In latus, inque feri curvam compagibus alvum,  
Contorsit :

"Quasi in rem, quæ facile cedit ictui." The verse here quoted occurs, Æn. ii. 51. where the poet is writing of the Trojan horse, whose side was perforated by the lance of Laocoon. And, in the same manner, Mons. de la Rue, in his verbal interpretation, "Concussit cavernosum montem ad latus intorta cuspidē;" as likewise Mr. Dryden, in his translation,

He said, and hurl'd against the mountain's side  
His quiv'ring spear, and all the god applied.  
The raging winds rush through the hollow wound, &c.

In short these expositors wanted only a hole or opening for the winds to rush out at, and having found one so readily

in the side of the mountain, they were content. But the author, in my opinion, meant to tell us, that Æolus

(——— tenet ille immania sava  
Vestras, Eure, domos :———) v. 143.

pushed the mountain on its side, overturning it so with a blow of his spear, that from the aperture at the root, the struggling winds were enabled to get out. Certainly this interpretation, which the words will perfectly well bear, expresses the power of the god in a much more grand and sublime manner, than the other does, which only represents him as making a hole in the mountain's side. The overturning of a lofty and ponderous mountain creates in us the most magnificent idea imaginable; I would therefore give the passage thus :

No sooner said, but with his trident couch'd,  
He turn'd the hollow mountain on its side.

And, if I mistake not, our Milton understood the place in this manner, when he says,

——— As if on earth  
Winds under ground, or waters forcing way  
Sidelong, had pushed a mountain from its seat,  
Half sunk with all its pines.

Milton, vi. 195.

The words, *had pushed a mountain from its seat*, are a clear imitation of those in the Roman poet, *montem impulit in latus*. But how nobly has the English poet improved upon the Roman one, by that addition, *half-sunk with all its pines*! This is making the thought in a manner his own; and thus it generally fares, whenever any passages of the ancients come into the hands of true geniuses; the jewels are always then set to the best advantage.

Yours, &c.

1758, Dec.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXXII. A brief Account of the various Translations of the Bible into English.

I CANNOT learn that any part of the Holy Scriptures, translated into the ancient British tongue, is now remaining. It is not indeed certain, that they were ever translated into

that language; if they were, it is probable they were all destroyed in that general devastation which was made under Dioclesian about the year 301, when, as Fox in his *Acts and Monuments*, page 89, relates, on the credit of ancient authors, "almost all Christianity was destroyed in the whole island; the churches subverted; all the books of the scripture burned; and many of the faithful, both men and women, were slain." Yet I may observe, that in Chaucer's time, there was a tradition that *the Gospels* were extant in the British tongue, when Alla was king of Northumberland, in the sixth century. Chaucer's words, in the *Man of Lawe's Tale*, are these:

A Breton boke, written with Evangiles,  
Was set, and thereon he swore anone, &c.

But as this might be only a poetical fancy, I shall lay no great stress upon it.

The Saxons made themselves masters of this island somewhat before the year 500; and after the Saxon inhabitants of this country (says Mr. Lewis, in his *History of the Translations of the Bible into English*) were converted to Christianity, we are sure they had the whole Bible in their own country character and language. The most ancient version of the gospels, in that language, that I have found mentioned, is that of one Aldred, a priest, inserted in the code of Eadfride, Bishop of Lindisfarne, about the year 680, (or as others say 730) which was near a hundred years after the Abbot Augustine, with forty Benedictine monks, were sent from Rome by Pope Gregory the First, to instruct the Saxons in the Christian religion.

Venerable Bede, who was a Saxon, we are told (See Lewis's *Hist.* page 6) translated the whole Bible into the Saxon tongue, and that King Alfred did the same. Yet Bale tells us, that Alfred translated only part of the Psalms; "*Psalterium Davidicum, quod morte preventus non perfecit*;" and Aug. Calmet says, that Cuthbert, Bede's scholar, in the catalogue of his master's works, speaks only of his translation of the Gospels into that language, and says nothing of the rest of the Bible. Bede died in 735, and Alfred in 901.

It is generally held, that the first translation of the Bible into English was made by John Wickliffe, who was born at Wickliffe, in Yorkshire, and educated at Merton college in Oxford; he translated it from the Latin Bibles then in use, as the Saxon versions had been done before. This translation

must have been made some time before the year 1384, when Wickliffe died. Aug. Calmet says, it is not known that this translation was ever printed, but that there are several MSS. of it in England. The same learned Benedictine also informs us, that John Trevisa is supposed to be the first who translated the Bible into English, and that his translation was finished in the year 1357. This John Trevisa was vicar of Berkley, in Gloucestershire; afterwards there was a revisal made of Wickliffe's translation by some of his followers; or, as some think, a new version, with several corrections. And these are all the English translations of the whole Bible, (as far as I can find) that were made before the art of printing was invented, which art was first brought into England by William Caxton, about the year 1470, or very soon after.

In the year 1526, William Tindal, a Welchman, but educated at Oxford, first printed his New Testament in English, in 8vo. at Antwerp, where he then resided. This translation was not made, as the former ones had been, from the Vulgate Latin, but from the original Greek. About four years after this he published the Penteteuch in English, from the original Hebrew; and continued to translate several other books of the Old Testament, till the time of his death, which was at Tilford, or Wilford, near Bruxells, in the year 1536, where he was first strangled, and then publicly burnt. But the year before this, the whole Bible was translated into English by Myles Coverdale, a native of Yorkshire, but residing somewhere beyond sea; it was published in folio, and dedicated to King Henry VIII. Of this Bible, it is said there were only two more editions, one in a large 4to, in 1550, and another in 1553. Some suppose this version was made partly by Tindal, and partly by Coverdale.

In 1537, Matthews's Bible, as it was called, was printed with the king's licence; of which there was another edition in 1551. Mr. Lewis, (*Hist. of Transl. of Bib.* p. 111.) is of opinion, that this Thomas Matthews is a fictitious name, and that one John Rogers was the translator, or at least the publisher of that edition. This John Rogers was educated at Cambridge, and became acquainted with Tindal at Antwerp; but in Queen Mary's reign, (being then in England) he was burnt on account of his printing that Bible.

In the year 1539, Matthews's Bible was published with some alterations and corrections, in a large folio, printed by Grafton and Whitchurch, which was called Cranmer's, or the Great Bible; and the same year also, one Taverner published another edition of this Bible; in this edition



likewise some other corrections were made. Taverner was born at Brisley, a village in Norfolk, Anno 1505. He was, as Bale expresses it, "Tam Græce quam Latine expertus, in operibus componendis et transferendis singulare donum habens."

The next revision and publication of the Bible was made under the care and direction of Archbishop Parker, and as several Bishops were employed in that revision, it is sometimes called the *Bishop's Bible*. This was printed by Richard Jugge, Anno 1568, in folio, and had several impressions afterward.

The Roman Catholics (that were English) 1582, made a translation of the New Testament in English, from what they call the authentical Latin (meaning the Vulgate,) and because it was printed at Rheims, a city of Champagne in France (where they then chiefly resided) it is usually called the Rhemish Testament; and in 1609, they also printed the Old Testament at Donay.

In the reign of King James I. a new, complete, and more accurate translation of all the holy scriptures was made by fifty-four learned men, appointed by royal authority for that purpose, and it was printed in folio in 1611, they having spent about three years in completing it.

Some English refugees, that fled to Geneva in Queen Mary's time, on account of their religion, made a translation of the New Testament into their native language; and that was printed at Geneva by Conrad Badius, in 1557, and was the first New Testament in English, with the distinction of verses by numeral figures. The division of the sacred books into chapters is ascribed to Hugo de Sancto Claro, a Dominican monk, who died in 1262. But this division into verses, marked by numeral figures, was first made by Robert Stephens, the learned and celebrated French printer, in a Greek Testament, which he printed in 1551; and four years after that the Vulgate Latin Bible was divided in the same manner. But it was not till the year 1560, that the whole Bible was printed at Geneva, which edition is in quarto.

I have by me an edition of the Bible in English, containing the Old and New Testament and Apocrypha, which escaped the search of the diligent Mr. Lewis; it is a small 4to. divided into chapters, but not distinguished by verses. I know not where it was printed, it being defective at the beginning and end. But Mr. Ames, secretary to the society of Antiquaries, has one of the same edition, in his curious collection, that is complete. He informs me, his

was printed by R. Grafton, Anno 1553. Before this information was given me, I was of opinion, that mine had been printed somewhere abroad, because the paper is made *yellow* by some art; why it was so stained I can give no good reason, not having observed any books printed on paper of that colour, that I remember, in England.

All the critical essays, that I have seen upon our last translation of the *Bible*, appear to me upon the whole to be but trivial. Doubtless some passages might be better expressed; but I do not find, that it is charged with any essential, or even material fault; and therefore I look upon it as a true and good version, and that we shall not want another, till by length of time, the flux and change of language shall render it obscure or unintelligible.

*Wandsworth, Feb. 24, 1758.*  
1758, *March.*

W. MASSYE.

### XXXIII. Account of the Translators of the Bible.

MR. URBAN,

IN your Supplement for 1764, a correspondent from Bath requests an account of the translators of the Bible now in use, who and what they were. As I have not yet seen an answer to this request, I take the liberty of sending you a copy of the *order set down for the translating the Bible by King James*, from the collection of records in the 2d Vol. of Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 366, folio: and have added a few notes relating to some of the translators.

The places and persons agreed upon for the Hebrew, with the particular books by them undertaken, were as follow;

WESTMINSTER.

*Mr. Dn. of Westm.	} Penteteuchon ; and the story from Joshua to the first book of Chronicles exclusive.
†Mr. Dn. of St. Paul's	
Dr. Saravia	
Dr. Clark	
Dr. Leifield	
Dr. Teigh	
Mr. Burleigh	
‡Mr. King	
¶Mr. Tompson	
Mr. Beadwell	

CAMBRIDGE.

Mr. Lively	} From the first of Chro- nicles, with the rest of the story, and the Hagiographi, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Can- ticles, Ecclesiastes.
§Mr. Richardson	
Mr. Chatterton	
Mr. Dillingham	
Mr. Harrison	
Mr. Andrews	
Mr. Spalding	
Mr. Burge	

OXFORD.

Dr. Harding	} The four or greater Prophets, with the La- mentations, and the twelve lesser' Pro- phets.
Dr. Reynolds	
Dr. Holland	
Dr. Kilbye	
Mr. Smith	
¶Mr. Brett	
Mr. Fairclough	

\* (Dean of Westminster) Launcelot Andrews. He was born in London in 1565, was made Dean of Westminster in 1601, Bishop of Chichester in 1605, Bishop of Ely in 1609, Bishop of Winchester in 1618, and died in 1626. See Biogr. Dictionary.

† (Dean of St. Paul's) John Overall. He was made Dean of St. Paul's in 1601, and Bishop of Norwich in 1618.

‡ (Mr. King) was probably the same with John King, who was consecrated Bishop of London in 1611, and died in 1618. See Heylin's *Help to English History*.

¶ (Mr. Tompson) Might not this be the same with Robert Tompson who was Dean of Westminster in 1617, and Bishop of Salisbury in 1620?

§ (Mr. Richardson) Dr. John Richardson was of Cambridgeshire. *Magn. Brit. Vol. I. p. 263.*

¶ (Mr. Brett) Dr. Richard Brett, the greatest linguist of his time, was rector of Quarendon, in Buckinghamshire, and lies buried in the chancel there. *Mag. Brit. Vol. I. p. 217.*

## CAMBRIDGE.

Dr. Dewport	} The prayer of Man- nasses, and the rest of the Apocrypha.
Dr. Braithwait	
Dr. Radcliffe	
Mr. Ward, Eman.	
Mr. Downes	
*Mr. Boyes	
Mr. Warde, Reg.	

The places and persons agreed upon for the Greek, with the particular books by them undertaken.

## OXFORD.

Dean of Christchurch	} The four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Apocalypse.
†Dean of Winchester	
‡Dean of Worcester	
Dean of Windsor	
Mr. Savile	
Dr. Perne	
Dr. Ravens	
Mr. Haviner	

\* (Mr. Boyes) This gentleman was born at Nettlestead, in Suffolk, Jan. 3, 1560. His capacity was such, that at five years of age he read the Bible in Hebrew; and at fourteen was admitted of St. John's College, Cambridge, June 21st, 1585, he was ordained deacon; and the next day, by virtue of a dispensation, priest. He was ten years chief Greek lecturer in his college, and read every day. On the death of his father, he succeeded him in the rectory of West Stowe. He performed not only his own part in the translation of the Bible, but also the part assigned to another, with great reputation, though with no profit, for he had no allowance but his commons. He was also one of the six who met at Stationer's Hall to revise the whole; which task they went through in nine months, having each from the company of Stationers, during that time, thirty shillings a week. In 1615, Dr. Launcelet Andrews, Bishop of Ely, bestowed on him, unasked, a prebend in his church. He died Jan. 14, 1643. See Biogr. Dict.

† (Dean of Winchester) George Abbot was born Oct. 29, 1562, at Guildford, in Surry, was elected probationer fellow of Balliol College in Oxford in 1583, took his bachelor of divinity's degree in 1593, proceeded doctor in that faculty in 1597, and in the same year was elected master of University College. In 1599 he was installed Dean of Winchester, the year following was chosen vice-chancellor, and a second time in 1603. In 1604 had his share in translating the Bible, the year following was a third time vice-chancellor, was consecrated Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in 1609, the same years was translated to London, in 1610 to Canterbury, and died in 1633. Biog. Dict.

‡ (Dean of Worcester) Rich. Edes, was probably a native of Bedfordshire, Magn. Britan. Vol. I. p. 150.

WESTMINSTER.

Dean of Chester	}	The epistles of St. Paul. The Canonical epistles.
Dr. Hutchinson		
Dr. Spencer		
Mr. Fenton		
Mr. Rabbet		
Mr. Sanderson		
Mr. Dakins		

*The Rules to be observed in Translation of the Bible.*

1. The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishop's Bible, to be followed, and as little altered, as the truth of the original will permit.
2. The names of the prophets and the holy writers, with the other names of the text, to be retained as nigh as may be, according as they were vulgarly used.
3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz. the word *church* not to be translated *congregation*, &c.
4. When a word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of the ancient fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the analogy of the faith.
5. The division of the chapters to be altered, either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.
6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words; which cannot without some circumlocution so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.
7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the reference of one scripture to another.
8. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter, or chapters, and having translated or amended them severally by himself where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what shall stand.
9. As any one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously, for his majesty is very careful in this point.
10. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, doubt or differ upon any place, to send them word thereof,

note the place, and withal send the reasons; to which, if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work.

11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed, by authority, to send to any learned man in the land, for his judgment of such a place.

12. Letters to be sent from every bishop, to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand, and to move and charge, as many as being skilful in the tongues, and having taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford.

13. The directors in each company, to be the deans of Westminster and Chester for that place; and the king's professors in the Hebrew or Greek in either university.

14. These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishop's Bible; viz. Tindal's, Matthews's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva.

15. Besides the said directors before-mentioned, three or four of the most ancient and grave divines, in either of the Universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellor, upon conference with the rest of the Heads, to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek; for the better observation of the fourth rule above specified.

1758, Aug.

E. G.

XXXIV. *A Passage in Cicero de Senectute corrected from a MS.*

MR. URBAN,

THE manuscripts of Cicero de Senectute are very numerous, and so many of them have been already examined, that it is hardly worth while to think of consulting any more; and yet having had an old book by me now many years, I have lately passed a day or two out of curiosity in collating it. It is written in a fair hand on vellum, and I formerly lent it to Dr. Davies, the learned master of Queen's College, Cambridge; and he, I presume, made some use of it; but as he did not live long enough to give the world an edition of this part of Tully's works, I cannot tell what became of his collation.

I do not take this MS. of mine to be particularly valuable,

either on account of its antiquity, or its correctness; there are too many marks of recency as to the first; and in regard to the second, the scribe seems to me to have been some ignorant Italian. However, there are some places, where, as I think, the readings are preferable to what we now have, and I purpose here to give you an instance of one in a passage very celebrated.

Cato in § 83. after speaking of the desire he has of visiting those great dead, of whom he had heard, and read, and himself had written, proceeds thus, "Quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quis facile retraxerit, neque *tamquam Peliam recuxerit.*" The MS. here has, *tamquam Pilam retorserit.* See the notes in Verburgius's edition.

The fate of Pelias is very differently related by authors; Diodorus Sic. Lib. iv. Ovid. Met. vii. 4. and Epist. Med. Jasoni. v. 129. Apollodorus, Biblioth. i. § 27. Zenobius, iv. 92. Hyginus, Tab. 24. all agree in representing Medea as directing the daughters of Pelias to cut their father to pieces, in order to his being restored by her to his former youth; this they did; but she, instead of restoring him, mounted her chariot and fled. Thus she was revenged of Pelias, the enemy of her paramour Jason; and the hero Pelias, was so far from regaining his juvenile state, that he was miserably put to death by his own daughters. Now, according to this account, the vulgar reading cannot stand, because it was not true in fact that Pelias was restored to life. But then on the other hand, Plautus in Pseudolo, A. iii. Sc. 2. speaks of Pelias as being actually restored to his youth by the art and skill of Medea.

Co. Quia sorbitione faciam ego te hodie mea,  
Item ut Medea Peliam concoxit senem :  
Quem medicamento, et suis venenis dicitur  
Fecisse rursus ex sene adolescentulum.  
Item ego te faciam.

These repugnant accounts make the reading in Cicero very uncertain; the question is, whether he followed Plautus or not. Plautus is not very accurate in his mythology; for example, in Rudens, A. iii. Sc. 1. he represents Philomela and Progne as turned into swallows, which is a gross error, and a person that could write so might well be mistaken as to the fate of Pelias; but in the age of Cicero, the story of Pelias was better known, and, in my opinion, he cannot reasonably be supposed to follow Plautus in his error: for

such I take it to be. But let us try the received reading by some other rules. Now methinks it cannot well be retained on account of what there immediately follows, "Quod si quis deus mihi largiatur, ut ex hac ætate repuerascam, et in cunis vagiam, valde recusum," where Cato declares expressly, that he would not choose to be a youth or a child again, which makes a manifest tautology, if we are to read before *tamquam Peliam recoxerit*. But what is more, something is here required that may better correspond with the terms *proficiscentem* and *retraxerit*, with which the reading of the MS. *tamquam Pilam retorserit* certainly accords best. It is a metaphor or image taken from the game of tennis, and Cato says, "that since he was in his way to meet those great men he had been speaking of, no one should easily withhold him, or strike him back, like a ball." Nothing can be more apposite or more expressive of his desire of not being diverted, or beaten from his purpose; and I am fully of opinion, for my part, that the passage was altered into *Peliam recoxerit* by some one who remembered that other passage above quoted from Plautus.

Yours, &c.

1759, May.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

# XXXV. The pretended Power of Witchcraft over the Winds.

MR. URBAN,

ONE of the vain and groundless pretensions of the ancient professors of sorcery and witchcraft was, that they could raise, control, and dispose of the winds. Thus Medea says,

— Ventos abigoque vocoque. Ov. Met. vii.

The witches in Macbeth converse to the same effect;

1st *Witch*. A sailor's wife had chesnuts in her lap,  
And mouncht, and mouncht, and mouncht: give me,  
quoth I.  
Aroint thee, witch!—the rump-fed ronyon cries.  
Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master o' th' Tyger;  
But in a sieve I'll thither sail,  
And like a rat without a tail,  
I'll do—I'll do—and I'll do.



2d *Witch*. I'll give thee a wind.  
 1st *Witch*. Thou art kind.  
 3d *Witch*. And I another.  
 1st *Witch*. I myself have all the other,  
 And the very points they blow,  
 All the quarters that they know  
 I' th' shipman's card.

Though his bark cannot be lost  
 Yet it shall be tempest-tost.

Act. I. Sc. 3.

The fourth verse is an heroic of ten syllables, as appears from the three preceding ones; wherefore it ought to be reformed,

Her husband's t' Aleppo, master o' the Tyger.

*T' Aleppo* is the same as *to Aleppo gone*, and somebody that did not relish the ellipsis, hath wrongfully inserted *gone*. Thus, above, you have the like ellipsis, for the sake of the metre, *give me*, for *give me some*; but what is most material in this case, the verb of motion is very often omitted in such phrases.

*Malc.* I'll to England.

*Don.* To Ireland I.

*Macb.* II. 5.

*Rosse.* Will you to Scone?

*Macd.* No, cousin, I'll to Fife.

*Rosse.* Well, I will thither.

*Macb.* II. 6.

*Macb.* I will to-morrow

(Betimes I will) unto the weird sisters.

Come, we'll to sleep.

*Macb.* III. 5.

*Buck.* I'll to the king.

*Brand.* You shall to the Tower.

*King.* Let him on.

Henry VIII. 1. see also King Lear, I. II. III.

In short, the brevity of dialogue and conversation, has produced a thousand examples of this ellipsis, not only in this, but others also of our stage authors. It is very common in other writers likewise.

The three next verses consist of eight syllables, and therefore we should read

I'll do—and I'll do—and I'll do.

As to the sequel, it was *ports* once, instead of *points*; Mr. Pope, I think, first altered it, and Mr. Theobald followed him, but upon what authority I know not; but if this emendation be not warranted by any old edition, I should be for retaining *ports*, it being very good English to say, *the wind blows such or such a port*. Besides, as *quarters* follows, the word *points* seem to me to make a meer tautology, for I know no difference in respect of winds between *quarters* and *points*; I am sure we make none in common discourse, it being the same thing for us to say, *the wind's in such a quarter*, or *in such a point*. But one can make no very good sense of this passage as it now stands, with either of these readings; wherefore I suspect the rhymes have been transposed in copying, and that the whole ought to be restored thus;

I myself have all the other,  
And the very\* ports *do know*,  
All the quarters that *they blow*  
I'th' shipman's card.

She has the other winds, she says, and what is more knows the several ports they blow *to*, and all the quarters they blow *from*.

But to return now to what we were upon, viz. the dealings of magicians and enchanters with winds: "The Laplanders," says Scheffer, "have a cord tied with knots for the raising of wind; they, as Ziegler relates it, tie their magical knots in this cord; when they untie the first there blows a favourable gale of wind; when the second, a brisker; when the third, the sea and wind grow mighty stormy and tempestuous. This that we have reported concerning the Laplanders, is by Olaus Magnus, and justly related of the Finlanders, who border on the sea, and *sell winds* to those merchants that traffic with them, when they are at any time detained by a contrary one."

Scheffer thinks that what Ziegler relates of the Laplanders, does not, in fact, belong to them, but to the Finlanders of Norway, because no other writers mention it, and because the Laplanders live in an inland country. However, the method of selling winds is this: "They deliver a

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\* An attempt has been made to change *very* into *various*, but there is no occasion for it. The sense is, my knowledge is so perfect and exact in this matter, that I know the *very ports* which the several winds blow. This is both very good sense, and very good English.

small rope with three knots upon it, with this caution, that when they loose the first, they shall have a good wind; if the second, a stronger; if the third, such a storm will arise that they can neither see how to direct the ship and avoid rocks, or so much as stand upon the decks, or handle the tackling." He notes also another particular, not less extraordinary than their selling of winds. "Those," says he, "that are skilled in this art, have command chiefly over the winds that blow at their birth, so that this wind obeys principally one man, that another, as if they obtained this power when they first received their birth." Something of this, of one person's having power over one wind, and another over another, is evidently alluded to in the conversation of the witches in Macbeth, quoted above. These northern wizards pretended also to a power of stopping the course of ships; this, it seems, was attributed both to the Finlanders of Norway and the Laplanders, who, according to the different affection they have for merchants, make the sea either calmer or more tempestuous\*.

But, Sir, I shall now shew you, that these notions and practices were not confined to these northern parts only, but likewise extended to the more southern ones. Thus Pomponius Mela, who wrote in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, delivers, concerning a set of priestesses in the Island or Sena, or the Isle des Saints, on the coast of Gaul, "*Sena in Britannicò mari Osismicis adversa littoribus, Gallici numinis† oraculo insignis est: cujus antistites, perpetua virginitate sanctæ, numero novem esse traduntur: Barrigenas vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus præditas, maria ac ventos concitare carminibus, seque in quæ velint animalia vertere, sanare quæ apud alios insanabilia sunt, scire ventura et prædicere: sed non nisi deditas navigantibus, et in id tantum ut se consulerent profectis;*" which may be translated thus: "The Island of Sena, which lies in the British sea, opposite to the coast of the Osismici, is famous for an oracle of a Gaulish deity. The priestesses, who profess perpetual virginity, are said to be in number nine: they call them *Barrigenæ*, and esteem them to be endowed with very extraordinary qualities; such as troubling the sea, and

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\* Scheffer's Hist. of Lapland, p. 58.

† It is uncertain whether this means the *Gaullic* deity, κατ' ἔξοχην or only a *Gaullic* deity. I understood it in the latter sense, and shall intimate in a future letter, that he was probably the God whom the Gauls worshipped under the idea, and with the attributes of Bacchus.

raising the winds by their enchantments; transforming themselves into whatever animals they please; curing disorders incurable by everybody else, and knowing and foretelling things future. However, they are subservient only to seafaring people, and only to such of them as come on purpose to consult them."

It is remarkable that they were thought not only able to disturb the sea, and raise the wind, as the Laplanders, or rather Finlanders, above, are supposed to be; but moreover, to be employed, as they were, chiefly in the service of navigators, which makes the resemblance more striking. A learned man thinks, and another great scholar assents to it, that the French word *baragouin* comes from the mumblings and gibberish of these sorcerers, who were called *Barrigenæ*. But this shall be considered in another paper.

But there is an instance still more apposite than this; Ranulph Higden tells us in the *Polychronicon*, p. 195, that the witches in the Isle of Man, anciently *sold winds* to mariners, and delivered them in *knots tied upon a thread*, exactly as the Laplanders did. "*In illa insula vigent sortilegia, superstitiones, atque præstigia, nam mulieres ibidem navigaturis ventum vendunt, quasi sub tribus fili nodis inclusum, ita ut sicut plus de vento habere voluerint plures nodos evolvant.*"

This notion of confining and bestowing winds, is as ancient as it was extensive, for thus it is said of *Æolus* in the *Odyssey*,

The king with mighty gifts my suit approv'd;  
The adverse winds in *leathern bags* he brac'd,  
Compress'd their force, and lock'd each struggling blast;  
These in my hollow ships the monarch hung  
Securely fetter'd by a silver thong\*.

Eustathius says, they who practised the art of incantation, or charms, made use of the skin of a dolphin, and pretended, by certain ceremonies, to bind or loose the winds as they pleased†. However, Ulysses's companions were so foolish afterwards as to set these adverse winds at liberty. But there is some difference between this case and those above-mentioned; *Æolus*, being king of the winds, was a proper power to dispose of them; and moreover, they were the adverse, or unfriendly winds that were imprisoned, whilst the favour-

\* Pope's *Odys.* Lib. x. 18. seq.

† See the notes on Pope's *Odys.*

able ones were at liberty. Calypso, in other places of the Odyssey, is supposed to be able to confer favourable winds\*. This approaches nearer to the cases of Lapland, and the Isle of Man, only it is not said that her winds were confined, as those of the witches and sorcerers of the north are supposed to be.

Our sailors, I am told, at this very day, I mean the vulgar sort of them, have a strange opinion of the devil's power and agency in stirring up winds, and that this is the reason they so seldom whistle on ship-board, esteeming that to be a *mocking*, and consequently an enraging of the devil. And it appears now, that even Zoroaster himself imagined there was an evil spirit called Vato, that could excite violent storms of winds. But notwithstanding all this, God is said to *bring the winds out of his treasures*; it is also written, that *at his word the stormy wind ariseth*; so that the devil was formerly endeavouring to ape the divine omnipotency, in this particular as well as so many others. He is, indeed, called in scripture, *the prince of the power of the air*†, and it is wonderful to reflect how far and how wide, and how generally, he has propagated the false persuasion, that he and his instruments, witches and wizards, had it in their power to raise or abate, to change, to communicate, to sell and transfer, a wind.

Yours, &c.

1763, Jan.

T. Row.

XXXVI. A Passage in P. Mela considered.

MR. URBAN,

THE Gauls, in Cæsar's time, were extremely addicted to superstition of all kinds, as he tells us, Lib. vi. de Bello Gall. Sect. 15. "*Natio est omnis Gallorum, admodum dedita religionibus.*" And so it seems they continued. The passage which I lately cited from Pomp. Mela, iii. c. 6. being a flagrant instance of it; "*Sena in Britannico mari Osismicis adversa littoribus, Gallici numinis oraculo insignis est: cujus Antistites, perpetua virginitate sanctæ, numero novem esse traduntur: Barrigenas vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus præditas, maria ac ventos concitare carminibus, seque*

\* See Lib. V. 216. 341, and Lib. VII. 352.

† Ephes. ii. 2.

in quæ velint animalia vertere, sanare quæ apud alios insanabilia sunt, scire ventura et prædicere: sed non nisi deditas navigantibus, et in id tantum ut se consulerent profectis." But the word *Barrigenas*, which occurs in the neat edition of Abr. Gronovius, and is the reading of his father Jacob, and of Is. Vossius, stands, in my opinion, upon no solid bottom. The MSS. have *Galliccnas*, *Galligenas*; and from hence Is. Vossius corrected it *Barrigenas*, which is now commonly received.

It happens, Sir, that Ricardus Corinensis, lately published by M. Bertram, at Copenhagen, has transcribed this passage, p. 47. and in the MS. he used, it stood *Senas Galli vocant*; by which transposition, and the reading of *Senas* for *Genas*, the principal foundations of Vossius's conjecture are totally subverted and destroyed.

But let us examine, before we finally discard it, what he has alleged in support of it.

He cites the Glossaries, to shew *Barrigenæ* signified *Peregrinæ*; but what reason is there for thinking the priestesses *Galli minivis* were *Peregrinæ*? In others they are called *Bareginæ*, and *Bargennæ*, which signifies a barbarous cry, or acclamation; which is still as little to the purpose; since these priestesses, though they were superstitious enough, were not more barbarous than the rest of the Gauls. He next observes, the women might be called *Bargina*, and the men *Bargi*, which he asserts to be the same with *Bardi*. If this were the case, the *Barrigenæ*, who ranked with the *Bards*, could never with any propriety be taxed with *barbarism*; since they must have been rather more civilized and learned than the rest of the Gauls; and if *Bargus* were the masculine, the feminine, one would rather expect, should be *Barga*, than *Bargina*. He then tells us, that Gronovius thought the French word *Baragouin* was deduced from the barbarous sounds uttered by these *Barrigenæ*, in their incantations, and he highly approves it. But now the French themselves, particularly the most learned and polite Menage, give a more rational etymology of that word. "*Baragouin*," says this excellent author, "de ces deux mots *baru* et *guin*, qui signifient en Bas-Breton *pain* et *vin*, qui sont les deux choses dont on apprend premièrement les noms quand on apprend les langues estrangeres. De ce mot *Baragouin* on a fait la verbe *baraguiner*, qui est comme qui diroit ne sçavoir autre chose d'une langue que les mots du *pain* et de *vin*," &c. This now agrees very well with the Glossaries, where *Barrigenæ* are explained by *Peregrinæ* and *Barbaræ*; and is, in my opinion, the true original of the word *Baragouin*.

But, to return to Vossius; he says, who can believe that Pomponius would write, that the women of the island of Sena were called by the Gauls *Senæ*? And this argument, from absurdity, is in truth his capital allegation; and yet there is little or no weight in it; for were not the Sooth-sayers of Chaldæa called Chaldæans? And are not those of Ægypt, at this day, termed Ægyptians, or Gypsies? And I dare say, if an Armorican Gaul, that could speak Latin, had then said, *proficiscor ad Senas consulendas*, he would have been understood to mean, he was going to consult these *Weird Sisters*, who were styled *Senæ*, καὶ ἐξοχῆν. I am therefore clearly of opinion, upon the whole, that Turnebus's conjecture, of Galli Senas, which is supported by the MS. used by Ric. Corinensis, is the true reading of this place.

If Richard's MS. were but one hundred years older than himself, which is as little as one can deem it, it was probably more ancient than any copy that has been hitherto collated.

However, before I dismiss the passage, I would beg leave to observe, that *apud alios*, which Schottus would expunge, occurred also in Richard's MS. where it is likewise *prædicere*. as both he and Pintianus conjectured, and not *prædicare*. And lastly, that whereas Schottus would read *didita*, or *dedita*, and Vossius also has substituted *deditas*, which is the received lection, Richard's MS. has *dedita*, which no doubt is the truth, *erant* being understood; and that this is a legitimate word, in respect of Schottus, is clear, from the passage above-quoted from Cæsar. The latter part of the sentence will therefore stand thus, and so the future editor, I hope, will give it: "Galli Senas vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus præditas, maria ac ventos concitare carminibus, seque in quæ velint animalia vertere, sanare quæ *apud alios* insanabilia sunt, scire ventura et *prædicere*. Sed non nisi *dedite* navigantibus, et ob id tantum ut se consulerent profectis."

Quære, whether this same island be not intended by those words of Strabo, iv. p. 403. "In oceano autem insulam esse aiunt parvam, non plane in alto sitam, objectam ostio Ligeris: in ea habitare Samniticas Mulieres, Bacchico instinctu correptas, quæ Bacchum cæremoniis et sacrificiis demereantur," &c. The situation does not greatly vary: and it is possible the women might be called both *Senæ* and *Senitæ*, which last might easily be turned to *Samnitæ*.\*

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\* Xylander takes this word in Strabo to be *corrupted*; but I question that; for see the passage from Dionys. *periply.* adduced by Casaubon; as also Joh. Salisius, and Menag. in Laert. p. 3.

But see Casaubon's note. If this be so, the Gallicum Numen, mentioned by Mela as having been here worshipped, was no other than Bacchus.

1763, Feb.

T. Row.

XXXVII. Critical Remarks on a Passage in Shakespeare's Othello.

OTHELLO II. 8.

Which thing to do,  
If this poor trash of Venice, whom I do trace  
For his quick hunting, stand the putting on,  
I'll have our Michael Cassio on the hip,  
Abuse him to the Moor, &c.

IAGO is here opening his designs against Othello, and his lieutenant Michael Cassio. By *this poor trash of Venice* he means Roderigo, who was a Venetian, and whom he had been just talking with in the foregoing scene. *For his quick hunting* means the speedy running down of Cassio, whom by means of Roderigo, if he could but keep him up to his metal, he intended, as he says, to ruin.

Mr. Warburton has two emendations on this passage, "Trash of Venice, a trifling insignificant fellow may, in some respects, very well be called *trash*; but the metaphor is not preserved; for what agreement is there between *trash* and *quick hunting*, and *standing the putting on*? The allusion to the chase, Shakespeare seems to be fond of applying to Roderigo, who says of himself, towards the conclusion of this act, 'I follow her in the *chase*, not like a *hound* that *hunts*, but one that fills up the *cry*.' I suppose, therefore, that the poet wrote,

If this poor *brach* of Venice,

which is a low species of *hounds of the chase*, and a term generally used in contempt; and this completes and perfects the metaphorical allusion, and makes it much more satirical. Utiilius in his notes on Gracian, says, '*Racha* Saxonibus canem significabat, unde Scoti hodie *Rache* pro cane fœmina habent, quod Anglis est *Brache*. Nos vero (*he speaks of the Hollanders*) *Brach* non quemvis canem, sed sagacem vocamus.' So the French, *Braque, espece de chien de chasse*. Menage etymol. [whom I do trace for his quick hunting] just the contrary. He did not *trace* him, he *put him on*, as he says immediately after. The old quarto leads to the true reading,



——— whom I do crush  
For his quick hunting,

plainly corrupted from *cherish*;" and so this emendator gives it in his edition,

Whom I cherish.

Now, Sir, as for the first of these emendations, it is doubtless very obvious, but I fear will not bear examination: for I absolutely deny, that the *brach* was a *low species of hounds of the chase*, and a *term generally used in contempt*: and an instance is required of such its use, for I am certain that the authors whom he cites say no such thing. The passage of Janus Ulitius, whom here he erroneously calls *Utilius*, in his notes on Gracian (that is on Gratius, for so the author of the Latin poem entitled *Cynegeticon* is called, and not *Gratianus*) may be seen above; and as to Menage in *les Origines de la Langue Française*, v. Braque. Sir H. Spelman in his Gloss. v. Barmbraccus et Bracco. Lindenbiogius in Gloss. v. Bracco. Sir William Dugdale's Barón. I. p. 264. Fr. Junii. etymol. in v. Shakespeare, Troilus and Cressid, II. 2. King Lear III. 9. Massinger's Unnat. Combat. IV. 2. Webster's White Devil, p. 407. Broom's Jov. Crew, p. 348. All which are good men and true, and very impartial in this cause, and whom I have very carefully consulted; these none of them drop the least hint of the Brach's being of a *contemptible* or *degenerate* breed. But I will give you the words of John Caius, than whom no better judge can be required in this behalf, who, in his book *De Canibus Britannicis*, knows no other difference between the Brach and the best hound, but that the Brach was the female. These are his words, p. 496, Edit. Burmanni, "Quod autem ex his aliquas, Brachas nostri, Rachas Scoti sua lingua nominant, in causa sexus est, non genus. Sic enim canes femineas in venatico genere vocare solent nostri;" and this agrees very well with what Ulitius delivers above, as likewise with Junius, and others, and in Broom's Jov. Crew. p. 348, *Beggar's-braches* are *Beggar-wenches*. Now, Sir, is it not a flat contradiction in terms to call a person *poor Brach*? or to style any thing of the male kind a *Brach*? Wherefore, I am of opinion; that the old reading of *poor trash* must stand, since Mr. Warburton will allow that a trifling insignificant fellow may very well be called *trash*; and, if so, it may certainly with equal propriety be applied to a paltry or worthless hound. But I am the clearer

in this on account of the pun, which the author appears here to aim at,

If this poor *trash* of Venice, whom I do *trace*, &c.

Now this pun, once conceived in the author's head, led him to proceed in the metaphor, and afterwards led him to carry on the speech in words borrowed from hounds and the chase, it being one of the sort itself; insomuch that these metaphorical allusions do not commence at the word *trash*, but at the word *trace*; from which point the metaphor is sufficiently followed and preserved, as there are no less than three terms from the chase employed, *trace*, *quick hunting*, and *putting on*.

We then proceed to consider this editor's second emendation, by which all this is lost, and the true foundation of these metaphorical terms, in my conception of things, totally removed and annihilated. He has altered the words *do trace*, or *do crush*, as it is corruptly printed in the old quarto, into *cherish*; *do crush* is evidently nonsense, and is a gross corruption of something; of *do trace*, probably, the scribe not understanding that term, and not of *cherish*; for though this may seem an easy corruption from *crush*, it could not well arise from *do crush*. In short, it appears to me from Mr. Warburton's attempting an emendation here, and his having recourse to the corrupt reading of the quarto, that he did not understand the meaning of the word *trace* in this place, any more than the printer or editor of the quarto did. It is a term of hunting or field sport; to *trace* sometimes signifies to *follow*, as Hen. VIII. iii. Sc. 2.

Now all joy trace the conjunction;

and a dog or a man *traces a hare*; but to *trace a dog* in those sports is to put a *trace*, or *pair of couples*, upon him, and such a dog is said to be *traced*. The sense then of

———— whom I do trace  
For his quick hunting——

is this, whom I do associate to me for the purpose of ruining Cassio the sooner. In the using of these traced dogs, they often took the trace into their hands, and ran along with the dog, especially the blood hound, which is very apropos to this subject; for Dr. Caius, speaking of these hounds pursuing thieves, as well as beasts, says, "*iidem cum fures, insequuntur, non ea donantur libertate, qua cum feras, nisi in magna celeritate fugientium furum, sed loro retenti herum ducunt qua vellet ille celeritate, sive pedes sit, sive equus.*"

Caius, p. 496, who likewise at p. 497, speaks of another sort of dog besides the blood hound, that was called *Lorarius*, *a loro quo ducitur*, in English, the *Lyemmer*.

In fine, Sir, were we to part with this word *trace*, we should lose in a manner all the beauty of this passage, whether we read *trash* or *brach* before; and if the former, which after what has been said, methinks we ought to do, we should lose even the very basis and foundation of all the following metaphors; insomuch that I am entirely for retaining it: and I cannot but wish for a conclusion, that our editors would bring a little more learning and a little more knowledge with them, when they undertake the emending of our ancient authors, and would not attempt writing upon subjects which they apparently do not, and must know they do not understand.

Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, æquam  
Viribus; et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,  
Quid valeant humeri.

Certainly, Mr. Urban, some of the mistakes detected above, are of a very gross kind, and must bring an editor to shame.

Yours, &c.

T. Row.

P.S. Should any think, the words *for his quick hunting* relate to Roderigo, and not to Cassio, the sense then will be, *whom I take into my hand on account of his eagerness, and keenness in the pursuit*; eagerness being a different thing from staunchness implied in *stand the putting on*.

1673, April.

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### XXXVIII. On the Conversion of St. Paul.

MR. URBAN,

THE festival which the church of England keeps in honor of the great apostle St. Paul, is that of his *conversion*, Jan. 25. which was, in truth, the most extraordinary and the most important passage of his life, as being the source of all his apostolical labors, and consequently of all the benefits which both by his preachings and his writings the Christian world received afterwards from him. The Latin, as likewise the Greek church, commemorate this apostle along with St. Peter, on the 29th of June, and several of our

parish churches, as founded before the Reformation, are dedicated to those two apostles in conjunction, and the *wake*, or *feast*, is accordingly celebrated on the Sunday next that day. But this is not the case with us Protestants, for in our calendars St. Peter stands alone on June 29, and the collect, the epistle, and gospel, relate solely to him; and so this feast is understood by Bishop Sparrow, Mr. Wheatley and the other rationalists, as likewise by Mr. Nelson, in that excellent work of his, "The Companion for the Festivals and Fasts;" insomuch that we Protestants commemorate only one festival in honour of St. Paul, to wit, his conversion, and even this was not admitted into the table of *holydays* at its first compiling, the reason of which may be seen in Mr. Wheatley.\*

Now the history of the miraculous conversion of this apostle is related in the ix. xxii. and xxvi. chapters of the Acts, in the first of which places the account is, "And Saul yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the High Priest, and desired of him letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem. And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus, and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven, and he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And he trembling and astonished, said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do. And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice but seeing no man. And Saul arose from the earth, and when his eyes were opened he saw no man; but they led him by the hand, and brought him unto Damascus, and he was there without sight, and did neither eat nor drink," &c.

It is well known how prone the history-painters are to run into errors and mistakes; and one very capital they in general have committed in relation to this affair; for I suppose there are very few pieces representing this subject that do not exhibit the apostle and his company on horseback, and consequently that do not make him, when the light so suddenly and so astonishingly shone around him, and he fell to

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\* Wheatley, p. 196; edit. 1792. 8vo.

the earth, to tumble from his horse. But in all the three narratives above cited, there is not the least foundation for this; on the contrary, I think it very apparent that the apostle was travelling on foot when this wonderful incident happened; for after he was risen from the ground, and had lost his sight through the intolerable brightness of the light from heaven, his fellow travellers set him not on his own beast, whether horse or ass, but *led him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus*, a particular which is again noticed, and much in the same words\*, in the xxii. chapter. It is possible, indeed, that this apostle being a Roman citizen by birth, and well educated as he was, might be in somewhat better condition of life than the other apostles, who were chiefly poor fishermen. He was, nevertheless, but a tent-maker, an honest, but a mean course of life; and, as Chrysostom observes, an argument that his parents were not of a nobler and better rank†; wherefore one has no reason to imagine he kept any beast to ride on. It is true, he carried letters from the High Priest, but these were obtained at his own request, and probably were nothing more than either a warrant to justify him in what he should attempt against the Christian converts at Damascus, or letters of recommendation to the leading men of the synagogue there, notifying his zeal for the cause, informing them who he was, and requiring them to be aiding and assisting him in the discharge of his bloody errand. Nothing is said of the High Priest's sending St. Paul to Damascus, and, in consequence thereof, equipping him: and as to the rest of the travels of our apostle, which make up so large a part of the Acts, we find him often on ship-board, but never on horseback, that I can remember, except when he was mounted by the Roman governor, Acts xxiii. and sent with expedition and secrecy by night to Cesarea. Insomuch, that one cannot but conclude that the apostle not only made this journey to Damascus on foot, but performed all his other excursions the same way, as the first preachers of the gospel commonly did. Of this we have a remarkable instance, in St. Ceada, or Chad, as related by Ven. Bede; his custom was to walk on foot when he was upon the ministry, though he was a bishop; but Archbishop Theodore, out of tenderness to him, enjoined him to ride when the journeys were longer than ordinary; and when he saw him rather

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\* The word in both places is *ἡγεγυον*.

† Dr. Cave in the Life of St. Paul.

unwilling to indulge himself in that sort, he compelled him to mount on horseback, by assisting him to do it with his own hand \*.

Yours, &c.

1763, *Aug.*

T. Row.

### XXXIX. On the Ellipsis.

MR. URBAN.

THE author of that late celebrated production, "The short Introduction to English Grammar," seems not to pay sufficient regard to the Ellipsis: thus p. 134, he reckons *that* for *that which* to be either improper or obsolete, whereas in fact, it cannot be said to be either. In respect of impropriety, the idioms of language depend much upon use and custom, which consequently must settle and ascertain what is proper and what not, and he himself has produced three good authorities for *that* used for *that which*; *which* being, as I take it, omitted in this case by Ellipsis. I shall add a few more examples from various authors.

"Do ye enquire among yourselves of *that* I said." Joh. xvi. 19.

"To do always *that* is righteous in thy sight." 3 Collect, Morning Service.

"Godliness is great riches if a man be content with *that* he hath." Communion Office.

"Bake that which ye will bake to day, and seethe *that* ye will seethe" Exod. xvi. 23.

"I am not bound to *that* all slaves are free to." Othello iii. 5.

"Why, *that* the Moor first gave to Desdemona." Ibid. iii. 7.

"Is it possible, he should know what he is, and be *that* he is?" All's Well that Ends Well iv. 1.

But as to Shakespcare, see Johnson's Dict. *in voce*.

"The gyse, now a dayes,  
Of some jangling jayes,  
Is, to discommend,  
*That* they cannot mend." Skelton, p. 251.

in which author there are six other instances besides.

"For where eche laboureth to breake *that* the other maketh." Hall, Edw. v. fol. ii. b. And the same author elsewhere.

To the same sense is *that* in the dance of Machabree. fol. ccxxi. b. "One man breaketh *that* another made."

"Small vaunt to flie *that* of constraint thou must." Mirrour of Magistrates, p. 413.

"The sonne of man hidder cam  
Not for to destroye eny man  
But to save *that* perished is."

Invective against Card. Wolsey.

"The king resolved to put nothing like restraint upon his commissioner, from effecting *that* he wished might be done to-morrow if it could be." Lord Clarendon's Life, ii. p. 107.

The usage, as appears from these instances, and no doubt an hundred more might be produced, is in a manner universal; and yet, as must be confessed, this way of speaking is just the contrary of these in Latin:

"*Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris.*  
*Quod factum fuisse non debuit, factum valet;*"

where the pronoun demonstrative *id illud*, being understood in the relative, for the full or plenary locution, I presume, should be *id quod*, whereas in the English idiom, which I am here endeavouring to establish, the relative is omitted, as being understood in the pronoun. *That*, in many, or most of these instances, corresponds with *what*, as will appear by substituting this word in its place\*. But something should be said, at least, about obsolescence, for though the expression may not be improper, yet perhaps it may be obsolete and out of date. Now to try this, I will introduce a common expression or two which everybody will allow to be current English at this day; of a bad man it is usual to say, *he has been guilty of all that's bad*. As on the contrary, of a man of worth, *he has been a follower of all that's great and good*. And so we should say, without scruple, of a finished drunkard, *he died by that he loved*.

Yours, &c.

'1763, May.

T. Row.

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\* See the Short Introduction, l. c.

## XL. Origin of some common Phrases.

MR. URBAN,

YOUR correspondents have now and then entertained us with the explanation of an obscure phrase or proverb, and their attempts were generally well received. Some of your readers would be pleased with them, whilst others would be disposed to laugh, which come to the same thing, namely, the amusement of both parties, and consequently answered one purpose of your Magazine, which was to intermix the *dulce* with the *utile*. I purpose then to endeavour here the explication of one of our common phrases, of which every one knows the meaning; and but few, as I take it, the original. It is a common saying with us, that a person is *a dab at such or such a thing*, at *music*, for example, *bowling*, &c. and sometimes people will say, *he is a dab*, without naming in what, leaving you to supply that from the subject you happen to be talking upon. Now all know that the sense and meaning of these expressions are, that the party is one that is very expert in the science, or at the exercise in question. However, these expressions are mere vulgarisms, are seldom met with in authors, and only find a place in our canting dictionaries: but, nevertheless, the word *dab* may possibly have a rational cause or origin, though to many it may be hard to investigate. This, then, is what I shall try to do.

Now as the word *dab* does not seem to be an old English one, that is, neither deducible from the British or the Saxon, it is probably a corruption of some better and more legitimate term, and, as I think, of the word *adept*. An *adept* is a term peculiar to the Hermetic philosophy, being allotted to the consummate proficient in *alchemy*, of whom the principal were Ripley, Lully, Paracelsus, Helmont, &c. And Mr. Chambers tells us, "That it is a sort of tradition among the alchemists, that there are always twelve *adepti*; and that their places are immediately supplied by others, whenever it pleases any of the fraternity to die, or transmigrate into some other place, where he may make use of his gold; for that in this wicked world it will scarce purchase them a shirt." From thence the word came to be applied metaphorically to other matters, and consequently to signify a person far advanced, or perfect in any thing; and therefore it obtains exactly the same sense as a *dab* does; wherefore I take this latter to be a vulgar corruption of the word *adept*.



which is no other than the Latin *adeptus*. Just as that other expression, which we have in the North, *a cute man*, is an abbreviation of *acute*, or the Latin *acutus*, and signifies a person that is sharp, clever, neat, or to use a more modern term, jemmy; according to the subject you happen to be speaking of. *Spice* again is a word which we use in the sense of a jot, bit, small portion, or least mixture; as when we say, *there is no spice of evil in perfect goodness*, in which case it is the latter part of the French word *espece*, which was anciently adopted into our language in this very sense, as appears from these words of Caxton: “God’s bounte is all pure . . . wythout ony espece of evyll.” Caxton’s *Mirror of the World*, Cap. 1. *Espece* is formed, after the manner of the French, from the Latin *species*.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1767, Sept.

T. Row.

#### XLI. Derivation of the Phrase—to Run a Muck.

MR. URBAN,

WE have an expression of doubtful and very obscure original, it is the phrase, *to run a muck*; Mr. Johnson interprets it, *to run madly and attack all that we meet*, and he cites the authority of Mr. Dryden. The question is, whence the expression was borrowed, and what could give occasion to it? I remember a gentleman, who loved an etymology, observed, that it probably came from *running to Mecca* in one of those expensive and tedious pilgrimages which the followers of Mohammed think themselves obliged once in their lives to undertake, as prescribed in the Koran. And in confirmation of this, he remarked, that *saunter*, which is now a common English word, came at first from *Sainte Terre*; the Croisees running in an idle manner, and to the neglect of their affairs, under pretence of being engaged in expeditions to the Holy Land. The etymology of *saunter* is undoubtedly probable, and may be the truth; but if Mr. Johnson has given us the real sense of *running a muck*, in his interpretation of the phrase, as I suppose he has, the chargeable and expensive pilgrimages to Mecca do not seem to come up to it; these imply only idleness and extravagance, which are not the ideas conveyed by *running a muck*, since this rather means, running a riot, and assaulting people’s persons with madness and fury, so as to endanger or take

away their lives. I am therefore of opinion that this expression came to us from the island of Java, in the East Indies. Tavernier says, "certain Java lords, on a particular occasion, called the English traitors, and drawing their poisoned daggers, cried *a mocca* upon the English, killing a great number of them before they had time to put themselves into a posture of defence." Tavernier's *Voyages*, II. p. 202. Again he tells us, that a Bantamois newly come from Mecca, "was upon the design of *moqua*; that is, in their language, when the rascality of the Mahometans return from Mecca, they presently take their axe in their hands, which is a kind of poniard, the blade whereof is half poisoned, with which they *run through the streets, and kill all those* which are not of the Mahometan law, till they be killed themselves." Ibidem, p. 199. This seems to be an exact description of what we call *running a muck*, according to Mr. Johnson's sense of it; and if the English did not bring the expression from the island of Java, the Hollanders might, and so it might come to us through their hands. Whereupon it may be pertinent to observe, that the term *Mohawk* came in like manner from North America to England; by which we mean both those ruffians who infested the streets of London in the same cruel manner which the *Mohawks*, one of the six nations of Indians, might be supposed to do, as likewise the instrument by them employed in their assaults.

Yours,

T. Row.

P.S. As we know not the original of the word *Mocca*, or *Moqua*, in the Javanese language, it is possible it may come from Mecca, since, as you may observe, this town is mentioned along with it in the latter quotation above. But still it will not allude to the pilgrimage to that place, merely as a pilgrimage, for this implies nothing of massacres and assassinations, but to the furious enthusiasm of certain zealots after their return from thence. The word *assassin*, that I may just mention it, is taken from the name of a people in Asia, just as *Mohawk* is in North America, so that there is nothing wonderful in words coming from even the remotest countries; but of the word *assassin* I may perhaps write you a line on a future occasion.

1768, June.

MR. URBAN,

One of your ingenious correspondents, who signs T. Row, some time ago, attempted to give us an account of the origin of the word *a muck*, or the phrase *running a muck*, but I have some reason to think he has not quite reached the mark, though he comes near it. The word is Indian, as he supposes, and is used particularly by the Mallays, on the same occasion on which we use it, though the particular meaning of it I do not know. The inhabitants of the islands to the eastward of Bengal, such as Sumatra, Borneo, Baneo, and the coast of Malay, are very famous for cock-fighting, in which they carry gaming to a much greater excess than the customs of Europe can admit; they stake first their property, and when by repeated losses all their money and effects are gone, they stake their wives and children. If fortune still frowns, so that nothing is left, the losing gamester begins to chew, or eat what is called *bang*, which I imagine to be the same as opium; when it begins to operate he disfigures himself, and furnishes himself with such weapons as he can get, the more deadly the fitter for his purpose, and the effect of the opium increasing, as he intends it should, he at length becomes mad: this madness is of the furious kind, and when it seizes him, he rushes forth, and kills whatever comes in his way, whether man or beast, friend or foe, and commits every outrage which may be expected from a person in such circumstances. This is what the Indians call *a muck*, or perhaps as Mr. Row says, *a mecca*, and when it happens, the neighbours rise, and combining together, hunt down, and kill the wretched desperado, as they would any other furious or destructive animal. Perhaps these particulars may excite some of your correspondents who are skilled in the languages of this part of the east, to give you still farther information on the subject.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

Bengal, March 17, 1770.

A. B.

The authority quoted from Dryden by Johnson, very much favours this account of our Oriental correspondent, and probably gave T. Row the first hint of the word *a muck* being of Indian derivation, and it is therefore a pity that he did not cite it.

Frontless; and satire-proof he scours the streets,  
And runs an INDIAN muck at all he meets.

Thus Johnson has printed it, but it may be questioned whether Indian is intended as an adjective to *muck*, or whether the words *an Indian*, are parenthetical: in either case it is printed wrong: if Indian is an adjective to *muck*, it should not have been printed with all capital letters, if not, the word *an* as well as the word *Indian*, should have been in the Roman character, and there should have been a comma both at *runs*, and Indian, thus

And *runs*, an Indian, *muck* at all he meets.

But in either case it shews that Dryden knew from what country the word was derived. By our present correspondent's account, it seems probable that a *muck* means to do mischief frantically. From the passage in Tavernier, quoted by T. Row, it seems to mean simply to kill by a sudden onset. We shall be much obliged to any of our distant or learned correspondents who will acquaint us with the literal meaning of the word.

1770, Dec.

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. XLII. Origin of the word *Assassin*.

MR. URBAN,

THE word *assassin*, whence comes *to assassinate*, *assassination*, &c. is both French and English; and it is supposed we borrowed it from the French. But that might not be the case, since both nations might have it from a common original, as nobody pretends to assert it is a pure French, or even a Gaulish word. Thus Mons. Menage acknowledges, that it came to the French from the East, *ce mot nous est venu du Levant avec la chose*. This author says, *Le Vieil de la Montagne*, the Old Man of the Mountain, prince of the Arsacides, or Assassins and Bedins, fortifying himself in a castle of difficult access, in the time of our expeditions to the Holy Land, collected together a number of people, who engaged to kill whomsoever he pleased. Hence, he adds, both the Italians and the French call these people *assassins* that committed murders in cold blood. It seems they were also called *Arsacides*. Menage cites his authorities, but passing them by, I shall content myself with giving you the words of one or two of our English authors. Dr. Fuller says, (Hist. of the Holy War, p. 38,) "These *assassins* were

a precise sect of Mahometans, and had in them the very spirit of that poisonous superstition. They had some six cities, and were about 40,000 in number, living near Antaradus in Syria. Over these was a chief master, whom they called, *The Old Man of the Mountains*. At his command they would refuse no pain nor peril, but stab any prince, whom he appointed out to death; scorning not to find hands for his tongue, to perform what he enjoined. At this day there are none of them extant, being all, as it seemeth, slain by the Tartarians, anno 1237," &c.

Mr. Sale, in his preliminary discourse to the Koran, p. 246, gives the following authentic account of them. "To the Karmatians, the Ismaelians of Asia were very near of kin, if they were not a branch of them. For these, who were also called *al molahedah*, or *the impious*, and, by the writers of the history of the Holy Wars, *assassins*, agreed with the former in many respects; such as their inveterate malice against those of other religions, and especially the Mahommedan; their unlimited obedience to their prince, at whose command they were ready for *assassinations*, or any other bloody or dangerous enterprises; their pretended attachment to a certain Imam of the house of Ali, &c. The Ismaelians, in the year 483, possessed themselves of Jebal, in the Persian Irak, under the conduct of Hasan Sabah; and that prince and his descendants enjoyed the same for 171 years, till the whole race of them was destroyed by Holagu the Tartar." Whence it appears, that the *assassins* were not Mahometans, as Dr. Fuller suggests, but rather of a religion set up in opposition to Islam, or that introduced by Mahommed. Both authors, however, agree in their characters as to their being professed *braves*, or murderers; and it appears from Matthew Paris in several places, that the oriental name of this people, as a nation or community, was that of *assassins*. From the east it was brought to us, who were entirely unacquainted with it, till after the *era* of the crusades; and it has been now, for an age or more, applied to persons of the like murderous disposition.

I am yours, &c.

1768, July.

T. Row.

**XLIII.** Account of the Collation and Revision of the English Bible,  
by Dr. Blayney.

*To the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor, and the other Delegates of the  
Clarendon Press.*

THE Editor of the two editions of the Bible lately printed at the Clarendon Press thinks it his duty, now that he has completed the whole in a course of between three and four years' close application, to make his report to the delegates of the manner in which that work has been executed; and hopes for their approbation.

In the first place, according to the instructions he received, the folio edition of 1611, that of 1701, published under the direction of Bishop Lloyd, and two Cambridge editions of a late date, one in quarto, the other in octavo, have been carefully collated, whereby many errors that were found in former editions have been corrected, and the text reformed to such a standard of purity, as, it is presumed, is not to be met with in any other edition hitherto extant.

The punctuation has been carefully attended to, not only with a view to preserve the true sense, but also to uniformity, as far as was possible.

Frequent recourse has been had to the Hebrew and Greek Originals; and, as on other occasions, so with a special regard to the words not expressed in the Original Language, but which our translators have thought fit to insert in Italics, in order to make out the sense after the English idiom, or to preserve the connection. And though Dr. Paris made large corrections in this particular, in an edition published at Cambridge, there still remained many necessary alterations, which escaped the Doctor's notice; in making which the editor chose not to rely on his own judgment singly, but submitted them all to the previous examination of a select committee and particularly of the Principal of Hertford College, and Mr. Professor Wheeler. A list of the above alterations was intended to have been given in to the Vice-Chancellor at this time, but the editor has not yet found time to make it completely out.

Considerable alterations have been made in the heads or contents prefixed to the chapters, as will appear on inspection; and though the editor is unwilling to enlarge upon the labour bestowed by himself in this particular, he cannot avoid taking notice of the peculiar obligations, which both himself and the public lie under to the Principal of Hertford College, Mr. Griffith of Pembroke College, Mr. Wheeler,

Poetry Professor, and the late Warden of New College, so long as he lived to bear a part in it; who with a prodigious expense of time, and inexpressible fatigue to themselves, judiciously corrected and improved the rude and imperfect draughts of the editor.

The running titles at the top of the columns in each page, how trifling a circumstance soever it may appear, required no small degree of thought and attention.

Many of the proper names being untranslated, whose etymology was necessary to be known, in order to a more perfect comprehension of the allusions in the text, the translation of them, under the inspection of the above-named committee, has been, for the benefit of the unlearned, supplied in the margin.

Some obvious and material errors in the chronology have been considered and rectified.

The marginal reference, even in Bishop Lloyd's Bible, had in many places suffered by the inaccuracy of the press; subsequent editions had copied those errata, and added many others of their own; so that it became absolutely necessary to turn to and compare the several passages; which has been done in every single instance, and by this precaution several false references brought to light, which would otherwise have passed unsuspected. It has been the care of the editor to rectify these, as far as he could, by critical conjecture, where the copies universally failed him, as they did in most of the errors discovered in Bishop Lloyd's edition. In some few instances he confesses himself to have been at a loss in finding out the true reference, though the corruption was manifest in the want of any the most distant resemblance between the passages compared together. Cases of this sort indeed did not often occur; so that a very small number only of the old references are, with the sanction of the committee, omitted, and their places more usefully supplied.

It had been suggested by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, that an improvement might be made in the present editions of the Bible, by taking in a number of additional references, of which many useful ones, as he supposed, might be furnished from other editions referred to by him, and particularly from a Scotch edition, of which the present Vice-Chancellor was kind enough to lend a copy. The references found in it, which were indeed very numerous, having been severally turned to and examined, such of them were selected as the editor judged most pertinent, together with others that occurred from his own reading and observa-

tion. In doing this he has endeavoured to keep clear of mere fanciful allusions, of which too many presented themselves in the before-named Scotch edition; and to adhere as near as possible to the plan marked out in the former collection made by Bishop Lloyd; pointing out such passages chiefly, where the same history or the same name was introduced, the same matter treated of, or sentiment expressed, or at least where parallels might fairly be drawn; and sometimes where a similar use of a particular word or expression tended to illustrate the application of it, on another occasion. The number of references being thus augmented considerably, the collection upon the whole will, it is hoped, be regarded as useful in the light of a concordance, material as well as verbal, always at hand.

In this state the quarto copy was sent to press; and the first proofs carefully collated with the copy, both text and margin; after which the second proofs were again read, and generally speaking the third likewise; not to mention the frequent revisions of proofs besides, which are common in correcting the press. This proved indeed a very tiresome and tedious task; but was not more than was absolutely necessary in order to attain the degree of accuracy that was wished. A particular attention was required with respect to the figures belonging to the marginal references, where errors were continually creeping in after a manner that would appear highly astonishing to those, who have never been concerned in correcting multitudes of figures, as they came from the press.

When the quarto sheets were printed off, the forms were lengthened out in order to make up the folio edition; in doing which the parts were so often jumbled together, and such confusion introduced by misplacing the references, and mistaking the chronology, that nothing else would suffice than a fresh collation of the whole with the quarto copy, and a repetition of almost the same trouble and care in the revision, and in making up the running titles anew, as had been used before. But the editor thinks he has just reason to congratulate himself on the opportunity hereby given him of discovering and correcting some few trivial inaccuracies, which in spite of all his vigilance had escaped his notice in the quarto edition. So that the folio edition is rendered by this somewhat the more perfect of the two, and therefore more fit to be recommended for a standard copy.

The editor humbly hopes this account of his proceedings will not be unacceptable to the board; and will think his time and pains not ill-bestowed, if he shall have succeeded



in his desire of giving satisfaction to those who honoured him with the employment, and of contributing in any wise to God's honour and the public utility.

Hertford College,

Oct. 25, 1769.

B. BLAYNEY

1769, Nov.

XLIV. Remarks on the Huetiana, and a Passage in Virgil

SIR,

IN the Huetiana of Mons. Huet, the most learned bishop of Avranches, of which you are now publishing a translation, there is an emendation of a passage in Virgil which has met with general applause. Virgil in the first book of the *Æneid* resembles Venus to Harpalyce, the Amazon, whom he commends for her swiftness in riding, which he describes thus :

—volucremque fuga prævertitur Hebrum.

*Æneid. I. 321.*

But, says Mons. Huet, is there any wonder in Harpalyce's excelling in swiftness the current of a river which was no way famous for any extraordinary property in that respect, since there are few rivers, which a person on foot, in his ordinary way of walking, will not outgo? So he conjectures we should read,

— volucremque fuga prævertitur Eurum:

And then cites two or three passages from the same author to shew that whenever he has a mind to give an hyperbolical description of nimbleness, either in horses or men, he usually compares it to the *wind*, and particularly to the *east wind*. Huetiana, p. 142.

The emendation was so fortunate as to please Ruæus, who accordingly produces it in his edition of Virgil, and observes that the letters in Hebrus and Eurum are much alike, and that Hebrus is a river of Thrace in Europe, whereas the Amazons lived in the Asiatic Thrace. *Ruæus ad locum*. Vigneuil Marville also espouses the emendation, and thinks it a most happy one, as the river Hebrus, according to all the geographers, had a remarkably slow stream. *Mélanges de l'Histoire et de Littérature*, iii. p. 267.

But now, with submission to these learned men, this applauded emendation appears to me to be destitute of a sufficient foundation.

First, it is against all the rules of criticism, to substitute a familiar word, such as *Eurus*, in the place of a proper name, or one less common.

Secondly, it was extremely natural for the poet, in speaking of the *Thressa Harpalyce*, to think of a Thracian river; and as to the distinction of the European and Asiatic Turace, remarked by De la Rue, that is not much to be regarded, since in the poet's eye Harpalyce was a Thracian of some sort, and that was enough.

In short, if there be any unfitness, or impropriety, in the comparison, as I suppose there may, I would impute it to the author's inattention, or inaccuracy, from which no author whatsoever is totally exempt; and upon that footing, I am against making any alteration, even though the Hebrus be a very slow river; and the more so, because I do not find that any one MS. authorises us to do it.

Yours, &c.

1770, April.

T. Row.

#### XLV. On Translation.—Mickle's *Lusiad*.

MR. URBAN,

THE great advantages which the world receives from the labours of eminent and learned men, are not so generally acknowledged as they ought to be. In our pursuit of literary knowledge, we seldom stop to reflect on the means whereby we are enabled to attain it. The chronologer, the annalist, the dictionary maker, though men of infinite labour, and some genius, must not expect their reward in that sort of gratitude which contributes to their fame; nay, must be content to be considered as the drudges and pioneers of literature, to smooth the way for others. Nor does it fare much better with translators; in this case, the original author engrosses the whole applause. A man reads the translation with advantage and pleasure; but thinks the commonwealth of letters no more indebted to the person who introduced it into the language, than to the printer who printed, or to the bookseller who sells the book.

From whatever cause this neglect of translators has arisen;

whether from the general inferiority of translations to their originals, or from a mistaken notion, that a translator cannot be a good poet, (I mean here to speak only of poetry) it is a prejudice that has done much harm to literature, by preventing and discouraging those who are best able to turn their studies that way. How commonly does the world exclaim, when any translation is made by one who has had invention enough to compose an original piece, what pity it is that such a genius should submit to the drudgery of translation; forgetting that the genius of Pope thought it no submission to translate Homer, nor the much greater genius of Dryden to translate Virgil.

It has been said of translators, and it is, I think, pretty nearly the truth, that they should be able to do something like what they translate, *i. e.* should be almost as good original authors as those they translate; and if we duly consider their necessary qualifications, a nice judgment to distinguish and preserve all the beauties of their original; a capacity of giving to the manners their strong and lively marks; to the speeches their true character and spirit; to the sentiments, their full force and sublimity; to the descriptions, their natural and animated colours, besides the diction and harmony of verse, which are entirely their own; we shall perceive, that the great distance between the translator and the original will vanish, and be ready to own that translation is not the business of those who can only set a verse upon its feet, and tag together half a dozen couplets.

It is worthy of the attention of a translator to make his poem read like an original. Now this can never be attained by a literal translation; but the question is, what latitude shall be allowed to him? This, I think, depends upon the character of his author. In translating authors of so much judgment as Homer and Virgil, he cannot follow them too closely, if he preserves their fire and spirit. Their example will best teach him when to be plain, and when figurative and poetical; when to rise into the bold and sublime; when to be humble and unadorned, and when to pay a particular regard to that imitative harmony, in which they themselves so much excel. Yet even here, he must often correct the idioms which are become obsolete and uncouth; he must soften the speeches and the manners, which to this polite age would appear rude and coarse; and in this he can be guided only by his own judgment. But in poets of less eminence he may use greater liberties. He must exercise his *tasté* to discover their defects, and his art to conceal

them. He must lend them spirit where they are dull, and correct that which is too ardent. He must labour to heighten their beauties, and, where they are wanting, he may venture to supply them. In short, I apprehend that translation will bid fairest for success, which has most intrinsic merit, and which reads most like an original.

I have been induced to make these remarks by the perusal of a translation lately published at Oxford by Mr. Mickle; who has already favoured the public with two or three original pieces. The translation I mean, is the first book of the *Lusiad*, a Portuguese Epic Poem, in ten books, written by Camoens. Its subject is the famous and useful discovery of the East Indies, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, under the conduct of Vasco de Gama. The adventures of this voyage furnished the poet with real incidents, more beautiful and natural than fancy could have framed: and for his machinery he had recourse to the Pagan system.

This celebrated poem, though not equal to the first-rate Epics of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, may well hold a distinguished rank among the second; and it is with great pleasure that I behold a resolution taken of rendering it into English, by so able a writer as the author of the *Concubine*.

The first knowledge I had of this translation, was from an extract in your last Magazine, compared with the old translation of Faushawe: the latter is indeed true to the sense of Camoens; but no more to be compared to Mr. Mickle's than a prose translation of the *Æneid* to Dryden's. If you will permit me to give an opinion, Mr. Mickle's translation promises well to stand in competition with any made in the English language. His characters are well preserved and strongly marked; his speeches have great force and spirit, his descriptions are masterly and sublime; his verse is written in a nervous and lofty diction, and in a fine harmony of numbers. I shall beg leave to produce a few instances as proofs of these observations.

The character of Mars is finely drawn; and as great and sublime as any description given of him in the first classics. It is introduced with the following noble simile:—

Thus when the storm with sudden gust invades  
The ancient forest's deep and lofty shade,  
The bursting whirlwinds tear their rapid course;  
The shatter'd oaks crash, and with echoes hoarse  
The mountains groan, while whirling on the blast  
The thick'ning leaves a gloomy darkness cast;

Such was the tumult of the blest abodes,  
When Mars, high-towering o'er the rival gods,  
Stept forth: stern sparkles from his eye-balls glanc'd;  
And now, before the throne of Jove advanc'd,  
O'er his left shoulder his broad shield he throws,  
And lifts his helm above his dreadful brows:  
Bold and enrag'd he stands, and frowning round  
Strikes with his spearstaff on the sounding ground.

The effect of this action is exceedingly noble; the last circumstance particularly is finely imagined:

Heav'n trembled, and the light turn'd pale —

The allusion to the fable of Phaeton, is highly poetical, and ends sublimely,

The bending rowers on their features bore,  
The swarthy marks of Phaeton's fall of yore;  
When flaming lightnings scorch'd the banks of Po,  
And nations blacken'd in the dread o'erthrow.

After describing the first engagements with the Indians, the poet goes on thus:

Unnumber'd sea-fowl rising from the shore,  
Beat round in whirls at every cannon's roar;  
Where o'er the smoke the masts tall heads appear,  
Hovering they scream, then dart with sudden fear;  
On trembling wings far round and round they fly,  
And fill with dismal clang their native sky.  
Thus fled in rout confus'd the treacherous Moors.

The turning of one part of the description into a simile and illustration of the other, shews great address, and is a beauty of a new and singular kind, which till now had never a place in any poem.

I might quote many other beautiful passages in this translation; particularly the fine description of the Night, and that charming simile of the Pilgrim; but I omit them, that I may have room to say a few words of that part of versification, which is usually called sentimental harmony.

By sentimental harmony, I mean not only the sound of words, considered as rough, smooth, broad, soft, &c. but also the length and cadence of phrase, adapted to any sentiment. This I conceive to be as capable of being reduced to certain rules, as the science of music is; for sound is

equally the object of both. The cadence I consider as equivalent, both to the time, and to the rise and fall of the notes; and the rough, broad, soft sound of words, as expressive of the forte or piano of music. It is much to be desired, that a good treatise were composed on this subject, which would be a standard rule, not only for composition, but pronunciation. If the narrow limits of the voice in speech be mentioned as an objection, let it be remembered, that music does not enjoy a great variety of expression; and that the passions (of grief or joy for example) are rather to be expressed by the movement, than by the rising or sinking of the notes. But the variety of sound in speech, is not less than of notes in music. Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his treatise *De Compositione Verborum*, says the voice in speaking may rise or sink two notes and a half from its pitch; each of which is capable of a division, even to the eighth part of a note, as may be demonstrated by algebra; which gives no less than forty different sounds. A difference of time too is constituted, both by the long and short vowels, and by every consonant that enters into a syllable, as the above-mentioned author has clearly proved; so that speech, both for sound and time, is equal in variety, though not in compass, to the notes of music.

Success in this sentimental harmony constitutes one great difference between a pleasing and a disagreeable writer. An harmonious composition disguises a multitude of faults. A nice ear then is as necessary to a fine writer, as to a good musician: it is the only rule whereby he can judge of the length, the cadence, and the sound of phrase, that is best adapted to express particular sentiments; and though it be not always required to make the sound imitate the sentiment, yet a writer without an ear will be continually in danger of making the sound counteract it, which is always to be avoided.

This imitation of the sentiment by the phrase, belongs to prose writers in common with poets; which is evident from hence, that poets in attempting it sometimes fall into prose, a licence not to be allowed, except in the drama. In the above-mentioned translation of the *Lusiad*, this kind of imitative harmony is often happily attained, as may be seen in the following instances:—

The bursting whirlwinds tear their rapid course,  
The shatter'd oaks crash; and with echoes hoarse,  
The mountains groan—P. 36.

The prows, their speed stopt, o'er the surges nod—P. 41.

*Mistakes of eminent Authors.*

The watchman's carol echoed from the prow,  
Alone, at times, awakes the still repose—P. 44.  
There wait; and sudden on the heedless foe  
Rush, and destroy them ere they dread the blow.—P. 51.  
A sudden storm she rais'd, loud howl'd the blast,  
The yard-arms rattled, and each groaning mast  
Bended beneath the weight.—P. 60.

I shall close my remarks upon this excellent translation, with a fine example of the other kind of imitative harmony, which is produced by a proper choice of words expressive of the subject by their sound. Arms and armour are more fully represented to the imagination by terms of a bold and sonorous tone: accordingly the poet in the following description has selected such words as are composed of open and broad vowels, joined with the roughest consonants. The description in itself is picturesque and masterly.

Straight as he spoke, the magazines displayed  
Their glorious shew, where, tire on tire inlaid,  
Appear'd of glittering steel the carabines,  
There the plum'd helms, and pond'rous brigandines;  
O'er the broad buckler's sculptur'd orbs emboss'd,  
The crooked faulchions, dreadful blades, were cros't;  
Here clasp'g greaves and plaited mailquilts strong,  
The long bows here, and rattling quivers hung,  
And like a grove the burnish'd spears were seen,  
With darts, and halberts double edg'd, between;  
Here dread grenadoes and tremendous bombs,  
With deaths ten thousand lurking in their wombs;  
And far around of brown and dusky red,  
The pointed piles of iron balls were spread.

1771, *Aug.*

D. Z.

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XLVI. On the Mistakes of eminent Authors.

MR. URBAN,

I HAVE often thought, that if a collection were made of the *Mistakes of eminent Authors*, proceeding merely from forgetfulness or inattention, it would fill a volume much larger than that of Sir Thomas Brown upon *Vulgar Errors*. A. Gellius has, in his agreeable manner, given us several oversights of this kind, from Varro, Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, Virgil, and others: to which may be added, a similar one of Plautus in *Epidico*, A. 1. S. 1.

— *E. Ubi arma sunt Stratippocli?*

*T. Pol illa ad hostes transfugerunt.*

*E. Armane?*

*T. Atque quidem cito.*

*E. Serione dicis hæc tu?*

*T. Serio inquam: hostes habent.*

*E. Edepol facinus improbum.*

*T. At jam ante alii fecerunt idem.*

*Erit illi illa res honori.*

*E. Qui?*

*T. Quia antea aliis fuit.*

*E. Mulciber, credo, arma fecit, quæ habuit Stratippocles.*

*Travolaverunt ad hostes. Tum ille prognatus Theti*

*Sine perdat: alia apportabunt ei Nerei filia.*

For it is evident from the passage in Homer here alluded to, that the arms in which Patroclus was equipped for the field, and which Hector despoiled him of, were not made by Vulcan: it being in consequence of the *loss of them*, that Thetis procured from that God a new suit of armour for Achilles, of which we have so beautiful a description in the eighteenth book of the Iliad. It is not, however, clear, whether this mistake is to be imputed to Plautus himself, or was intended by that accurate painter of men and manners for a *stroke of nature* in the character of Epidicus; who, as a servant, might well be supposed to have but a superficial acquaintance with letters, and therefore, consistently enough to make such a blunder. But this plea cannot be urged for that oversight of Catullus, which has been remarked by Strada, and before him by Scaliger. I mean that palpable one in his poem on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis; where he pronounces the ship that sailed upon the Argonautic expedition to be the first that ever put to sea.

*Illæ rudem cursu prima inbuunt Amphitriten.*

And a few lines lower clearly confutes himself, in the Episode of Ariadne, which constitutes the principal beauty of that poem:

*Thesæa cedentem celeri cum classe tuctur*

*Indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores.*

Another slip of the same nature, and on the same occasion too as this last, is one that we meet with in Valerius Flaccus. This author, towards the conclusion of his first book mentions *Ægyptian and Tyrian vessels* as existing at the same time with that in which the Argonauts were embarked; for thus he makes Neptune speak, when going to allay the storm which Boreas had raised:



— Veniant Phariæ Tyræque carinæ,  
Permissumque putent—

Argonaut. I. v. 644.

Though in the opening of it he had celebrated the voyage undertaken by those heroes, as the first that ever was made; and of course the *fatidica ratis*—the vessel that carried them—as the first that had encountered the dangers of the ocean:

Prima deûm magnis canimus freta pervia nautis,  
Fatidicamque ratem —

Wigan, Nov. 19.  
1771, Nov.

Q.

#### XLVII. Martial and Statius on the Bath of Claudius Etruscus.

MR. URBAN,

THE critics\* have remarked a strange disagreement between Martial and Statius, in the elegant descriptions which those authors have given of the Bath of Claudius Etruscus; but not one of them, as I can find, hath attempted to account for it. See the Epigram de Etrusci Thermis, Martial. lib. VI. 42; and the poem entitled Balneum Etrusci, Stat. Sylv. lib. I. 5. Martial mentions the Onyx, and that species of variegated marble, which, from the imaginary resemblance it bore to the spots of the serpent, was named Ophites, among the decorations of this Bath:

Siccus pinguis Onyx anhelat æstus,  
Et flamma tenui calent Ophitæ:

Statius in express terms excludes them both.

Mæret Onyx longe, queriturque exclusus Ophites.

Now, there appears to me no other way of clearing up this difference between the two poets, but by attending to the different nature of their compositions. That of Statius was an *extempore* production, thrown off hastily, during the course of an entertainment, at Etruscus's table, as we find by his appeal to Etruscus himself: "Claudii Etrusci testimonium est, qui Balneolum a me suum intra moram cœnæ recepit." Præfat. ad Silvar. lib. I. And it is evident from other passages of the Prefatory Epistles to the Sylva, that these sudden excursions were perfectly familiar to the muse of Statius; which, whatever honour they might reflect

\* See Casper. Gevartii Papinianæ Lectiones, and Thomæ Stephens Comment. in Statii Silvas; as also, Vincent Collesso ad Martial, Epigram. VI. 42.

on the poet's abilities, must necessarily subject him to frequent mistakes. Of this, the passage under consideration appears to be a remarkable instance: for I make no doubt, that Martial's little piece on the same subject, though it has infinitely less poetry, has abundantly more truth in it, not being like the other, an *extempore* effusion. For, that *this* poet had little or no turn for *such* sallies of genius, may fairly be presumed from the following distich, lib. XI. 91.

Lege nimis dura convivam scribere versus

Cogis, Stella; licet scribere, nempe malos:

Which evidently implies a consciousness, that he could not attempt them with success. This will appear still more probable if with some critics we suppose (what the subject seems to authorise) the following epigram to be pointed against Statius under the name of Sabellus:

Laudas Balnea versibus trecentis

Cœnantis bene Pontici, Sabelle.

Vis cœnare, Sabelle, non lavari. Martial. lib. IX. 20.

For then the ill-natured fling in the last line is easily explained by that mortifying truth, the *versibus trecentis*, in the first; and both together serve to intimate, in language more intelligible than a thousand words, the *envied superiority* of this same fictitious Sabellus in a talent, to which the epigram writer was sensible that himself had not equal pretensions.

Wigan, Dec. 17.

1771, Dec.

#### XLVIII. Greek Inscription to be read backwards as well as forwards.

MR. URBAN,

HAVING seen a very extraordinary piece of music, composed by the famous Mr. William Bird, (lately revived, and published by Dr. Alcock,) which is so contrived, that all the *parts* may be sung backwards, as well as forwards, it put me in mind of the following curious Greek inscription, round the font, in the church at Sandbach, in Cheshire; the inserting of which, in your useful and entertaining Magazine, will oblige many of your constant readers, and in particular, your humble servant,

Litchfield Close, Dec. 1770.

NIYON ANOMHMA MH MONAN OTIN.

Which may be thus translated;—

Wash the sin, not only the face.

1770, Suppl.

MR. URBAN,

THE inscription in Sandbach Church, in your Supplement, is, I believe, common on other fonts. I have seen it at Harlow, in Essex; and I think elsewhere. From the form of the font, I believe the conceit is invented since the Reformation, and not Monkish.

The common adage about which your correspondent inquires in your last Magazine,

Quem Jupiter vult perdere, prius dementat,

is supposed to be in Phædrus; but I have it from pretty good authority that it is not in any classic author, but a saying taken up and used at random. D. H.

1771, *March*.

MR. URBAN,

THAT artificial Greek line, which is sometimes found written upon fonts, and will read the same, both backward and forward,

Νῦν ἄνθρωποι μὴ μόνον οἶνον,

is a species of what I have seen called, on account of the difficulty of composing the like fantastical inscriptions, *Devil's Verses*. But the most extraordinary of those, and perhaps not possible to be imitated, is a verse I find in *Misson's Voyage to Italy*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 676. edit. 1714, 8vo.

Sacrum pingue dabo, non macrum sacrificabo.

This, at the Old Cloister of S. Marca Novella, at Florence, was applied to the sacrifices of Abel and Cain. The above is adapted to Abel, but read backward, and altering the punctuation, it will produce a Pentameter applicable to Cain, thus

Sacrificabo macrum, non dabo pingue sacrum.

This, as I said, appears to me to be inimitable, and one may challenge the whole world, I apprehend, to produce the like. In the first place, it is exceedingly difficult to form a Latin Hexameter, which, when read backward, will give us a Pentameter. It will be the more difficult to do this, and to exhibit at the same time a tolerable sense.

But what makes it most wonderful is, that in the third  
VOL. II

place, the sense is well adapted to the different characters of the parties that are supposed to utter, one the Hexameter, and the other the Pentameter, viz. Abel and Cain.

Few persons, I believe, will chuse to spend their time in framing a like gimcrack upon any subject; but I am really of opinion a man might try a whole year, before he would be able to succeed as well as the monk that composed the above line.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

T. Row.

P.S. There is a further singularity in the verse above, which I was near omitting, and makes it still more arduous and remarkable. The Hexameter and Pentameter are both Leonine verses, the middle and the ending of each rhyming to one another.

1771, June.

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XLIX. The Adage, *Quem Jupiter vult perdere, &c.* illustrated.

MR. URBAN,

THOUGH the trite adage, *Quem Jupiter vult perdere, &c.* concerning the author of which one of your correspondents inquires, cannot, I believe, be found verbatim in any ancient author, the sentiment it conveys appears to be commonly adopted both by the Greek and Latin writers. There is moreover a fragment of Publius Syrus, the mimic, as I find it quoted by Grævius in his *Lectiones Hesiodæ*, which greatly resembles the proverb in question, "*Fortuna quem vult perdere stultum facit.*" The same critic likewise quotes four lines from an anonymous Greek author which contain a similar sentiment.

Όταν γαρ οργη δαιμονων βλαπτει τινα,  
Τατα το πρῶτον εξαφαιρεΐται φρενων,  
Τον νυν τον εσθλόν εις δε την χειρω τρεπει  
Γνωμην, ιν' ειδη μηδεν ων αμαρτανει.

The fragment of Publius Syrus seems less chargeable with impiety than the proverb as it is commonly used; the word *Fortuna* being less offensive than *Jupiter*, supposing it

to mean the Supreme Being, and the phrase *stultum facit* is softer than *dementat* : but the Greek evidently makes the gods the efficient causes of those transgressions for which they afterwards punish (βλαπτειν) poor mortals, for the word *τρεπει* is much too strong to imply a bare permission. Grævius indeed attempts to defend these and other passages of the same purport ; but with how little reason, is evident from the passage in Hesiod which occasioned the foregoing quotations. Speaking of the two kinds of strife (*εριδων*) which prevail in the world, the poet observes that the first.

—πολεμον τε κακον και θηριον οφελλει  
Σχετλιη. ωτις τηνγε φιλει βροτος, αλλ' υπ' αναγκης  
Αθανατων βελησιν εριν τιμωσι βαρειαυ.

Hes. Op. lin. 15.

Upon the whole we must not expect to find a consistent scheme of theology in the writings of the poets, whatever we may in those of the philosophers.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1771, June.

W. W.

MR. URBAN,

IN your volume for 1771, one of your constant readers desires some of your classical correspondents to inform him in what original Roman author the common adage,

Quem Jupiter vult perdere, prius dementat,

is to be found. D. H. intimates, that it is not in any *classic* author, but a saying taken up and used at random. W. W. believes it cannot be found *verbatim* in any ancient author, though the Greek and Latin writers have, as he has shewn, commonly adopted the sentiment. We may safely assert, I presume, that it is not in any truly *classic* author, as the verb *demento* will not be found in any writer generally esteemed such. And may we not almost as safely pronounce, that, wherever this saying is to be found *verbatim*, it is only a translation of the following lines of Euripides, which occur in the *Incertæ Tragœdiæ*, as published by Barnes ?

Οταν δε Δαιμων ανδρι πορσυνη κακα,  
Τον νυν εβλαψε πωρον. V. 436, 437.

In Barnes's note upon this passage, among other references, he adds,—“Tale quid Paterculus de Variana

clade." Paterculus's words are these: "Ita se res habet, ut plerumque deus, fortunam mutaturus, consilia corrumpat." Lib. ii. cap. 118.—It may be further remarked, that Duport, in his *Gnomologia Homerica*, at p. 282 note, absolutely translates these words of Euripides by the common adage which has given occasion to these hints from,

Your constant reader,

1773, *Sept.*

L. L.

L. Critique on Virgil, and an Inquiry into the Propriety of some Passages in Silius Italicus.

MR. URBAN,

THE excellent author of the *Rambler* compares *the silence of Dido* at the sight of Æneas in the infernal shades, so elegantly described by Virgil in the sixth book of the *Æneid*, with that of Ajax in the thirteenth book of the *Odyssey*; and gives the preference to the latter, as being much more highly in character. He intimates, that the silence of the son of Telamon was undoubtedly founded in pride, and proceeded from a consciousness of his own defects in the arts of eloquence; justly concluding, that this sullen taciturnity had a much more striking effect, and conveyed a stronger idea of the most sovereign scorn and contempt, "than any words which so rude an orator could have found." To this, I think, may, with some appearance of reason, be added, what I do not remember to have seen remarked by any of the commentators, that this hero could not but recollect his having been foiled, before the assembly of the Grecian chiefs, in his contest for the arms of Achilles, merely by the superior address of his *wordy* antagonist; and would not this reflection naturally prevent him from having now recourse to the same weapon to serve the purposes of his resentment, in the use of which he had before been so signally defeated? If it were not refining too much, I would venture to assert, that Silius Italicus was impressed with the idea of this particular circumstance in the conduct of Ajax, when he introduced him into his own Elysium; and that the short, characteristic stroke, in which he represents Scipio as *admiring the stately step* of this hero,

Ajacisque gradum——  
Miratur——

Sil. Ital. XIII. 801.

was borrowed from the figure he makes in the Elysium of Homer.

I shall not dispute with the Rambler the inferiority of the copy exhibited in Virgil to the original of his great master, the Mæonian bard; but must venture to differ from him, though not without great diffidence and distrust of my own opinion, concerning the reason on which this inferiority is principally founded. He seems to think, that the sight of Æneas, instead of chaining up the tongue of Dido, and striking her speechless, ought to have produced an effect the very reverse of this: it should have roused her into clamour, reproach, and denunciation. But, with submission to the judgment of this admirable writer, he seems, herein, to have totally mistaken the design of the poet. Virgil, I apprehend, by the behaviour of Dido on this occasion, intended to represent the *dignity* of her resentment, dropping the *woman* in her to pourtray the *queen*:

Illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat;  
Nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur,  
Quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.

Considered in this light, is not her fixed attitude and contemptuous silence, her turning away from Æneas, and keeping her eyes immoveably rivetted to the ground, infinitely more expressive and more eloquent than all the powers of language? A mere female, indeed, would, in her circumstances, have railed and reproached; it was beneath the queen of Carthage to do either. I am not, however, ignorant that a different interpretation has been given of this silence of hers, by an anonymous writer\* of great taste and elegance, who imputes it to "*the consciousness of her guilt,*" and her consequent "*shame on finding herself in the presence of the most virtuous of all women, the Cumæan Sibyl.*" This sense of the passage, though supported with the utmost ingenuity and refinement, does not, I confess, appear to me so natural as that before mentioned; since it is neither clear how Dido could possibly have any knowledge of the

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\* See No. VIII. of an ingenious and entertaining collection of papers on subjects literary, critical, and humorous, entitled, *The Old Maid*, published in the year 1765, and reprinted in 1764.

Sibyl, nor is it in the least probable, that the sight of any other being in the universe could affect her so sensibly as that of Æneas, who had been the author of her greatest misfortunes, and the immediate occasion of her death.

I have sometimes been inclined to fancy, that the poet, in this passage, might possibly design to hint to us, in his delicate manner, the difference between the states of the *living* and the *dead*; to intimate, that, though the *latter* may retain all the passions and resentments\* to which they were enslaved upon earth, yet, in this state of separate beings, those passions can only prey upon the spirits that entertain them; and so much the more keenly, as they are now deprived of the power of gratifying, or giving vent to them. The duration of the vicious appetites beyond the grave, and their attendance on the soul in the next life, is a favourite doctrine of Plato. As Virgil was a great admirer of this author, and has evidently adopted his principles of philosophy, his shadowing out this favourite tenet of his master, in the conduct of Dido, may, perhaps, be thought no improbable conjecture.

The affinity of the subject leads me to touch upon a point, which I have frequently canvassed in my own thoughts, but could never yet satisfactorily clear up. I mean the conduct of Silius Italicus in his thirteenth book; wherein, after conveying his hero into the Elysian fields, in imitation of his great original, he presents him with a view of several of the heroes who figured in the Trojan war:

Inde vero stupet Æacide, stupet Hectore magno;  
Ajacisque gradum, venerandaque Nestoris ora  
Miratur, geminos aspectans LÆTUS Atridas,  
Jamque Ithacum, corde æquantem Peleia facta:

representing him, we see, as gazing upon the others with *wonder* and *astonishment*, but seized with *joy*, which appears to me utterly misplaced, at the sight of the two royal Grecian brothers, the most determined enemies of the house of Priam, and consequently of Æneas, from whom the Romans, and Scipio, as one of them, affected to derive the glory of their origin. The poet would, surely, with much more propriety, have shewn his hero expressing his satisfaction on the appearance of a Trojan chief. And, indeed, he awakens

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\* *Cura non ipsa in morte relinquit.*

*Æn. VI. 444.*



all our attention, and prepares us for some such pleasing incidents a few lines higher, in that noble encomium upon Homer, which he puts into the mouth of the Sibyl; who, after expatiating to Scipio on the merits of the venerable bard, judiciously closes the whole with this fine stroke, admirably calculated to recal his thoughts (as it instantly recalls ours) to his Trojan ancestors—namely, that the muse of this divine poet *had likewise immortalized his mother-country, Troy*:

—Et VESTRAM tulit usque ad sidera TROJAM.

Now, I appeal to the judgment of the critical reader, whether these words, and the place they are found in, do not naturally make him expect to see the young Roman introduced to some of the heroes of the Dardan race? and whether he is not disappointed to find the poet slurring over the name of Hector with the same undistinguishing marks of cursory attention as that of Achilles,—stupet Æacide, stupet Hectore magno,—without suffering it to excite peculiar emotions of *pleasure* and *admiration* in the breast of Scipio; and still more so to behold these emotions excited in him by the appearance of Agamemnon and Menelaus, Nestor, and Ajax?

Ajacisque gradum, venerandaquæ Nestoris ora  
Miratur, geminos aspectans lætus Atridas.

If these may be deemed *improprieties*, and certainly they seem to be such, by what name shall we call *the total omission of Romulus and Æneas*?—The poet, in order, we may presume, to animate his hero, by great examples, to the pursuit of honest fame, selects the most conspicuous characters of antiquity to pass in review before him; and, to incite him, as a Roman, to direct that passion solely to the good of his country, to make that the ultimate object of his ambition, and thence to expect the truest and most durable renown, points out to him, by the Sibyl, a group of his immortal countrymen, who, devoting their labours and their lives to that noble end, had finished, in her service, the same career of glory that he was himself now going to enter upon. Is it not reasonable here to look for, do we not anxiously expect to find, at the head of this illustrious band of Romans, Æneas the father of that people, and Romulus the founder of their state? It is true, Lavinia and Hersilia,

the consorts of these great personages, are briefly announced by the Sibyl; the first, as being the happy instrument of uniting the Trojans and the Latins; the latter, as having effected a work no less salutary, by reconciling the Sabines to the Romans after their rape of the Sabine virgins. But, notwithstanding the grace of novelty which this introduction of *female characters* into the poet's Elysium may justly boast of, and the exquisite taste and delicacy with which some of them are touched (those of Lucretia and Virginia in particular), methinks his neglecting to bring upon the scene the two most distinguished *male worthies* of his country, must be considered as a capital error; especially since he could have found an employment for them, so excellently adapted to their situation and character; for would there not have been infinitely more propriety in ushering in Scipio to the acquaintance of Romulus or Æneas, and describing him as seeking *the path to true glory* at *their* mouth, rather than at that of Alexander the Great?—There was so striking a contrast between that monarch and the young Roman, in the vicious unbridled passions of the one, and the mild virtues, the amiable well-regulated affections of the other; and, at the same time, so happy a resemblance between the latter and Æneas in particular, in the distinguishing characteristics of each, *piety* and *valour*; that this consideration alone, one would think, might have determined the poet to send him with that inquiry to the Trojan, in preference of the Grecian, chief:

——Similique cupidine rerum  
Pectora nostra calent, quæ te via scire superbum  
Ad decus, et summas laudum perduxerit artes?

Add to this, that it is paying a poor compliment to *all* the heroes of Rome, and particularly to those two, their great *progenitor* and their *legislator*, to represent one of their descendants as tarnishing, in effect, the lustre of their achievements, and tearing, as it were, the laurels from their brows, by thus placing the *crown of glory* on the head of the king of Macedon:

——Quanto exsuperat tua gloria cunctos  
Indubitata duces!

Nor is it more agreeable to poetical probability, than to the

model held out by Virgil\*, or to the truth of nature, if we consider the indignant republican spirit, and stern haughtiness, that marked the Roman character, to represent one of the first and greatest of that name as holding converse with a foreigner and a king.

I will venture, yet further, to hazard an opinion, that the taunting air and insult, with which Scipio accosts Amilcar, is as unworthy of him as a man, as the obsequious courtly strain, in which he offers incense to Alexander, is unbecoming him as a Roman. It must, however, be confessed, that, if his address to Amilcar be a blemish, it is a beautiful one, and such as we would not willingly part with; since it gives the poet† an opportunity of displaying, to great advantage, the *terrible graces* which distinguish this fierce and imperious commander. Having learned, from the conversation, *that a general havoc and destruction marked the progress of Hannibal's arms in Italy*, the disdainful shade stalks majestically away, after uttering this malignant exultation:

———Quod si Laurentia vastat  
Nunc igni regna, et Phrygias res vertere tentat;  
O pietas! O sancta fides! O vera propago,  
Atque utinam amissum reparet decus! inde citato  
Celsus abit gressu, majorque recessit imago.

Another thing, which has always struck me as an *egregious oversight* in this author, is his daring to try his hand at a

\* Æneas, indeed, as decorum required, addressed Dido; but no one else, except his friends and his countrymen, Auchises, Deiphobus, and Palinurus.

† It amazes one to observe the character which Scaliger gives of this author: "Silium expediāmus, quem equidem postremum bonorum poetarum existimo; quin *ne poetam quidem*. Non nervos, non numeros, non spiritum habet. Adeo vero ab omni venere alienus est, ut nullus invenustior sit."—Poetic. lib. VI. cap. 6. And yet, notwithstanding the severity of this criticism, there certainly are many indisputable proofs of a fine genius, and an elegant taste in various parts of his poem: in those beautiful lines on the Power of Music, in the eleventh book—the Encomium on Eunius in the twelfth—that on Homer in the thirteenth—the strokes upon Virgil and Cicero in the eighth—but more particularly in the address of Pleasure and Virtue to Scipio in the beginning of the fifteenth book. The intelligent reader will, probably, think the judgment of that critic far from being infallible, who could be capable of\* preferring Martial to Catullus, and of† pronouncing Fracastorius the best poet after Virgil. Very different is the opinion of a critic of another sort and size; from whose sentence, in these matters, there lies no appeal: "Silium Italicum, poetam meo quidem iudicio præstantem, Ciceronis apprime studiosum fuisse," &c.—Muret. Var. Lect. lib. II. cap. 14.

\* Lib. III. cap. 125.

† Lib. VI. cap. 4.

sketch of Cæsar and Pompey, (which, however, has nothing new in it to recommend or to palliate the attempt) when the principal outlines of their character had been pencilled out in so masterly a manner by Virgil. And what renders this oversight still more extraordinary is, that the recent contest between Vitellius and Otho afforded the noblest character for *the poet's* Elysium, by *the death of the latter*; which we find making, afterwards, so exquisitely fine a figure even in the hands of *the historian*.

Wigan, April 24.

Q.

1772, May.

## LI. Critique on Shakespeare.

MR. URBAN,

THIS line in Hamlet, Act III. Scene I.

“Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,”

has given great offence to the critics, on account of the harshness of the metaphor. Mr. Pope proposes to read *siege* instead of *sea*; and Bishop Warburton peremptorily pronounces, “Without question Shakespeare wrote

—Against *assail* of troubles.”

In defence of the text, I beg leave to observe, that there is a passage in the Prometheus Vinctus of Æschylus, the Athenian Shakespeare, from which one stroke of the imagery might seem to have been literally copied:

Δυσχείμερον γὰρ πελάγος ἀτρεῖας δυνεῖς.

V. 752.

The stormy sea of dire calamity:

and another, in which the figure is, certainly, as harsh as that—“To take arms against a sea of troubles:”

Θολεροὶ δὲ λόγοι παίουσ' ἑκὴν  
Στυγνῆς πρὸς κυμασὶν ἀτρεῖς.

V. 891.

My plaintive words in vain confus'dly beat  
Against the waves of hateful misery.

I would not, however, be supposed to offer this *similarity of expression* as an argument, that Shakespeare was conversant in Æschylus; any more than I take the "resemblance," which some critics have discovered, "between the leading ideas of Malvolio in the Twelfth Night, and those of Alnaschar in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments," to prove him acquainted with Arabic. All that is hereby intended is, to shew, from the example of a genius as bold and eccentric as his own, that the *harsh constructing* of a metaphor, or the *jumbling of different ones* in the same sentence, is not peculiar to Shakespeare, nor a sufficient reason to authorise an alteration of his text.

Wigan, Sept. 23.

1772, Sept.

Q.

MR. URBAN,

IN your Magazine for September, I produced a passage or two from Æschylus, to prove, that Shakespeare is not singular in the use of this metaphor, "*A sea of troubles*," with which two of his commentators are so much offended as to propose each a different emendation. In support of the text, to the authority of the old Greek bard, may be added the suffrages of two modern poets. Baudius, in an elegant copy of Latin Iambics, written *in a fit of sickness*, and addressed *to his friends*, has the following beautiful passage, where we find an expression perfectly similar to that of Shakespeare. I shall make no apology for the length of the quotation, not doubting but every reader of taste will think one unnecessary.

" Dulces amici, Baudius vobis abit  
Lubens et ultro, patriamque cogitat,  
Perfunctus hoc errore jam portum subit,  
Sacroque morsu figere anchoram parat.  
Vos, si quid in me dignum amari quod foret  
Amâstis unquam, præter hoc iners onus,  
Quod palpitât nunc, spiritu pauxillulo  
Donante vires, et vetante adhuc mori,  
Mox funus atque fumus ut decesserit  
Animæ salillum, ventuli flabrum levis;  
Ne, quæso, ne vos error in fraudem trahat  
Fallace fûco humanitatis blandiens,  
Ut his solutum corporis compagibus  
Me funerali lugeatis nœnia,  
Turpique planctu: quippe tum demum fruar  
Vita, yocari vita quæ vero meret,

Non hæc mali taberna, *curarum mare*,  
 Palæstra luctus, officina cladium,  
 Fomes dolorum, mors (ut absolvam) mera,  
 Quam morte nunc relinquo non ingratiis,  
 Parere promptus imperatori Deo,  
 Cui militat gens omnis hæc mortalium."

Dominici Baudii Epistol. Cent. I. Epist. x.

We meet with another instance of the *same metaphor*, in a curious *modern* Greek song, which the very ingenious M. de Guys has given us, in his *Sentimental Journey through Greece*, (vol. iii. p. 95.) as a proof, and certainly no bad one, that *the poetic fire of ancient Greece is not altogether extinguished*. I transcribe no more than is necessary for my purpose; the rest may be seen in the volume and page referred to.

Με δυσκαιριαις πολέμοις βασανὰ ὡς τὸ λεῖο  
 Εἰμαι, καὶ κερτινεύω, καὶ νὰ χάθω κοντεύω  
 Στὸ ΠΕΛΑΓΟΣ ΤῶΝ ΣΥΜΦΟΡῶΝ με ἐπικινδυνὸν καιρὸν,  
 Μ' ἀνεμὸς οὐρανίῳ, σφοδρὸς ἐναλίῳ.  
 Με κυματὰ πολλὰ καὶ μὴν, τεφὰν ἀναγενασμῶς.

"I struggle with all the misfortunes of nature, plunged into an abyss of misery. Wandering, floating on this OCEAN OF DISTRESS, my frail bark must soon be overwhelmed. Contrary impetuous winds raise the angry waves, which besiege me, and urge them on to my destruction. I pant for breath in the midst of a thick fog."

*Wigan, Nov. 20.*

Q.

1772, Nov.

### LII. *Critical Remarks on the Tragedies of Seneca,*

MR. URBAN,

IN reading Seneca's Tragedies, I lately met with the following passage,

*Nec Damæ trepidant Lupas:*

Herc. Oet. v. 1057.

which I beg leave to present to your correspondent J. Z.

as the most decisive answer to the question proposed by him concerning this line in Juvenal :

Et motæ ad lunam *trepidabis* arundinis *umbram*.

It proves the propriety of the common reading beyond a doubt: it is a *case in point*, and more conclusive than a thousand arguments from *analogy*.\*

I mention the Hercules Oetæus as a tragedy of Seneca's; though I am not ignorant of the controversy that has been moved by the critics about the authenticity of some of the pieces, which have been handed down to us under the name of that author. *This* tragedy, in particular, has been proscribed and reprobated in the severest manner by the elder Heinsius: "Hæc ad Herculem in Oeta," says he, "quam qui Senecæ ascribunt, judicii sui integritatem non tuentur." And again, "Sermo arguit longe post reliquas scriptam. Multa *ιδιωτικά*, indigna Seneca utroque, et nihil minus quam Latina, occurrunt." Dan. Heinsii Animadvers. in Senecæ Tragœd.—Heinsianæ earum Editioni adjunct. pp. 550 and 577. Lipsius, however, has admitted it into the num-

\* An excellent critic has this observation concerning the *analogy of language*; "A Latin writer would say, *In eo prælio multum sanguinis factum est*, [in that battle a great deal of blood was spilt]; but if from thence any one should now infer that he might write, *In eo convivio multum vini factum est*, [in that entertainment a great deal of wine was spilt], he would proceed upon a very wrong supposition: unless he could give an instance of the expression." Markland's Remarks on the Epistles of Cicero to Brutus, &c. p. 85.

I have frequently heard Mr. Pope's Inscription on Shakespeare's Monument in Westminster Abbey censured, as though the last line were neither good Latin, nor in the true Epitaph style and taste:

Gulielmo Shakespeare,  
Anno post mortem CXXIV,  
Amor publicus posuit.

I therefore submit it to the critical reader, whether the following passage from Ovid will, or will not, serve to remove the *first* part of the objection, and by *analogy*, to establish the *phrase* at least of the Inscription :

Tempora sacrata mea sunt velata corona,  
Publicus invito quam favor imposuit.

Ep. ex Ponto, lib. iv. Ep. xiv. v. 55.

† This expression seems borrowed from the Greek *αἶμα δῶρον*, an instance of which we have in Euripides:

Πηλεΐδης, ὃ σπυδρὸν αἶμα καὶ ματρός φρον.

Orest. v. 406.

ber of those which he ascribes to *one* of the Senecas; "Plerasque ex istis Annæi Senecæ esse fateor—sed Senecæ *novioris*:" and his admission of it is approved by Pontanus. —[See J. Lipsii Animadvers. in Tragœdias Senecæ, and Jo. Isac. Pontani de Tragœdiarum Auctoribus Prolegomenon, annexed to the edition of Seneca's Tragedies, published by Scriverius, *cum notis variorum*, Leyden, 1620.] Rutgersius, too, seems to acknowledge it for Seneca's, by quoting it, indifferently, with the Hippolytus, and the Troades, which are universally allowed to be of the hand of that author. (See Jani Rutgersii Var. Lect. lib. VI. cap. 17.)

Wigan, Oct. 23.

Q.

1772, Oct.

### LIII. Critical Remarks on some passages in V. Paterculus and Petronius.

MR. URBAN,

I HAVE always suspected a *false reading* in a passage of V. Paterculus, near the end of the first book, where that elegant author displays so much judgment in tracing out the reasons *why the most eminent writers of Greece and Rome flourished, respectively, in or about the same æra*, and so much taste in ascertaining and distinguishing their several merits. The passage I mean is this: "Nam, nisi aspera ac rudia repetas, et inventi laudanda nomine, in Accio circaque eum Romana tragœdia est; dulcesque Latini *leporis facetiæ*, per Cæcilium, Terentiumque, et Afranium, suppari ætate nituerunt." Vel. Paterc. i. 17.—Now, *leporis facetiæ* seems to be a tautology, unworthy the precision of this accurate writer; since *each* of these terms, I apprehend, *separately* denotes those\* *delicate traits of wit, those exquisite strokes of pleasantry and humour*; in a word *all those*

\* "Jam ut ad *lepores, sales, gratias, et venustates* veniamus; certum est, fere omnes eas tolli a *ridiculo*, quemadmodum ab excessu tollitur virtus. Quare Terentio ac Menandro tribuunt *lepores* antiqui; *sales* vero Horatius Plautus concedit, verum *inurbanos*." Dan. Heinsii *Dissertat.* Heinsianæ *Terent. Comœdiar.* Editioni præfix. p. 22.

"*Facetum* quoque non tantum circa *ridicula* opinor consistere.—*Decoris* hanc magis, et *exullæ* cujusdam *elegantie* appellationem puto."

Quintil. *Inst. Or.* lib. vi. cap. 3.



graces of elegance and politeness of the most refined facetiousness and urbanity, so essential to the comic muse, which the historian meant to intimate had been at length transplanted into the Latin language, and, at one and the same period, *newly*, shone out with distinguished lustre in those three Latin poets. Cicero, it is evident, frequently uses the words *lepos* and *facetia*\* as synonymous expressions: "Veruntamen, ut dicis, Antoni, multum in causis persæpe *lepore* et *facetis*, profici vidi." De Orat. ii. 54. Again, "Quis est igitur, qui non fateatur, hoc *lepore*, atque his *facetis*, non minus refutatum esse Brutum," &c. Ibid. 55. And, more particularly, "Etenim, cum duo genera sint *facetiarum*, alterum æquabiliter in omni sermone fusum, alterum peracutum et breve." Ibid. 54. And, "Non enim fere quisquam reperietur, præter hunc [*Crassum*] in utroque genere *leporis* excellens, et illo, quod in perpetuitate sermonis, et hoc quod in celeritate atque dicto est." Ibid. We see here two distinct species of wit or *pleasantry* defined, which are denoted, *indiscriminately*, by the terms *facetia* and *lepos*; so that these terms had clearly the same † signifi-

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\* TER. Quid est? GNA. *Facets, lepide*, laute, nihil supra.

Ter. Eunuch. Act. iii. Sc. 1. 37.

———est enim *leporum*  
Disertus pater, ac *facetiarum*.

Catull. ad Asinium, v. 8.

———tuo *lepore*  
Incensus, Licini, *facetis*que.

Id. ad Licinium, v. 7.

† We meet, indeed, with *lepos facetiarum* in two passages of Cicero; "Libanus etiam ex omni genere urbanitatis *facetiarum* quidam *lepos*, quo, tanquam sale, perspergatur omnis oratio." De Orator. 1. 34. And, again, in his description of the oratorical talents of Crassus: "Erat summa gravitas, erat cum gravitate junctus *facetiarum*, et urbanitatis oratorius, non scurrillis, *lepos*." In Brut. 143. In both these places I take *facetia* to be the *genus*, and *lepos* the *species*; understanding Cicero to intend, in the first passage, a certain *grace*, an air of politeness and *pleasantry*, which ought to animate the whole composition: and, in the latter, a certain *delicacy of art*, an elegance of *rattler* and *ridicule*, becoming the dignity of the orator, totally different from the coarse *jests*, the low illiberal humour of the clown and the buffoon. For that *lepos* signifies sometimes a *gracefulness*, a *gentility*, a *politeness of manner*, is evident likewise from Cicero: "Festivitate igitur et *facetis*, inquam, C. Julius, L. F. et superioribus, et æqualibus suis omnibus præstitit, oratorque fuit minime ille quidem vehemens, sed nemo unquam urbanitate, nemo *lepore*, nemo suavitate conditor." In Brut. 177. "Vox, gestus, et omnis actio sine *lepore*." Ibid. 238. "Hujus actio non satis commendabat orationem; in hac enim satis erat copiae, in illa autem *leporis* parum." Ib. 240. "Omnisque vite *lepos*, et summa hilaritas, laborumque requies." Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxi. cap. 7. These instances determine the meaning of *lepos facetiarum*; they

tion. Instead of *leporis*, therefore, in the passage under consideration, I think we ought to read *sermonis*; and am confirmed in this opinion, by observing, that *this* is the reading of that learned and judicious critic Rutgersius, in his quotation of the passage on a different occasion: "Quare Vel-leius Patereulus libro primo Cæcilio ac Terentio, non Plautum, non Nævium, non Licinium, aut quæ etiam cogitare putidum sit, Attilium comitem dat, sed Afranium; *dulcesque Latini Sermonis Facetiæ*, inquit, *per Cæciliū, Terentiumque, et Afranium, suppari atate floruerunt.*" Rutgers, Var. Lect. lib. iv. cap. 19.

The authority of Aulus Gellius, who, in a critique on Plautus, remarks from Varro, that poet's *facetia sermonis*, renders this reading still more probable: "*Quasdam etiam alias [comœdias] probavit [Varro] adductus stylo atque Facetia Sermonis Plauto congruentis.*" A. Gell. Noct. Att. iii. 3.

There is an erroneous reading, too, I think, in the following fine passage of Petronius's Poem on the Civil War, which, according to my judgment, spoils half the beauty of it.

At contra, sedes Erebi, qua rupta dehiscit,  
Emergit late Ditis chorus, horrida Erinnyes,  
Et Bellona minax, facibusque armata Megæra:  
Letumque, Insidiæque, et lurida mortis imago.

V. 253—6.

The last line is evidently a *parody* of two passages in Virgil;

— circumque atræ Formidinis ora,  
Iraque, Insidiæque, dei comitatus, aguntur.

Æneid. xii. 335.

— crudelis ubique  
Luctus, ubique Pavor, et plurima Mortis imago.

Ibid. ii. 369.

But the introduction of "the ghastly image of death" [*lurida mortis imago*], in the end of the line, after "Death himself" [*letumque*] had been introduced in the beginning of it, is so idle, unmeaning, a repetition, so tame, and so

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prove, too, the propriety of *this construction* of those words, even though we had not found them in *this form of construction* in Cicero. But, I think, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to give an instance of the inverse construction of them, — *leporis facetiæ*, — except that suspected reading in Patereulus.

totally unpoetical, as the fire and force of Petronius, with the great *critical* abilities he possessed, could never suffer him to admit. I, therefore, make not the least doubt, that, when he adopted one of Virgil's shadowy beings [*insidiæque*], he adopted also the other [*iræque*], deeming the latter equally fit to figure in *the court of Pluto*, as his great master had in *the retinue of Mars*. Hence, without hesitation, I would read,

*Iræque, Insidiæque, et lurida Mortis imago.*

Wigan, Nov. 24.  
1772, Nov.

Q.

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LIV. Inquiry as to the real Author of the book *De Imitatione Christi*.

MR. URBAN,

IT has long been matter of controversy, by whom the celebrated treatise "*De Imitatione Christi*," usually attributed to Thomas à Kempis, was written. As the book, for its intrinsic merit, has been printed more than forty times\* in the original Latin, and near sixty times been translated into modern languages, our pains may not be wholly misemployed in inquiring who was really the author of it.

Some of the first editions, it is said, as those of Brescia, in 1485, and Venice, in 1501, ascribe the work to St. Bernard. In an inventory of books, belonging to Monseigneur Compté d'Angouleme, and of Perigord, dated the first of January, 1467, there is mention of *the Imitation of St. Bernard, in a very old letter*; a proof it was at that time the general opinion, that this justly admired treatise came from the pen of that venerable personage; but no proof seems to be advanced for this supposition. St. Bernard was imagined to be the only man capable of such a work at that time. The name of St. Francis, which may be found in the *Imitation*, B. III. c. xxxviii. § 8, is alone sufficient to refute this error.

But the most probable conjecture, at this distance of time, is, that Jean Gersen, abbot of Vercell, was the true author, and that the book was composed between the years 1231

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\* See Hary's *Amaranth*. p 22. Worthington's *Kempis*, p. 3. preface.  
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and 1240. M. Velart, the late Paris editor of a Latin and French edition, has favoured the public with a dissertation on this subject, in which he appears satisfactorily to prove, that the work was extant before the thirteenth century. As an evidence of this fact, it clearly appears, that the author belonged to the abbey of Verceil, from a copy of the *Imitation*, preserved in the monastery of St. Catharine of the Congregation of Mount Cassin.

It appears from two passages in the *Imitation*, that the author was a monk, "Vita boni monachi crux est, et dux paradisi, L. III. c. xlii. § 5; and, in L. III. c. viii. § 51, he positively acquaints us with this circumstance, when he places himself in the number of those who had forsaken all terrestrial delights, to immerse themselves in a cloister, "quibus datum est, ut, omnibus abdicatis, seculo renuncient, et monasticam vitam assumant." Now Thomas à Kempis was not a monk, but a regular canon, of the order of St. Augustine. The Benedictines always esteem it their greatest happiness to be ranked among the monks; on the other hand, the regular canons think it no such blessing.

Another circumstance which may be adduced, is, that, about the period before mentioned, the abbot of Verceil was celebrated as a great master of the spiritual life, and intimately acquainted with the pious St. Francis of Assise, who died in 1226, and the master of St. Anthony of Padua, who died in 1231.

M. Velart assures us, that he has in his possession an ancient French translation of the book, reprinted at Anvers, by Martin Lempereur, about the year 1530. It appears to be the work of a priest of the diocese of Metz, who rendered it into that language from a translation in the German tongue, not being able after much pains, to procure the Latin original. In a short preface, prefixed to the treatise, he tells us, that this *version in German* was made by the pious Ludolph of Saxony, who, according to Mencken, author of the Dictionary; flourished in 1330. Thus it plainly appears, that a translation of the *Imitation* was extant even previous to the death of Kempis.

In the library of the King, at Paris, among different MSS. of the *Imitation*, there is one to be seen, which M. Melot, who died in 1761, and who was a connoisseur in ancient writings, used to say, appeared to be written about the year 1300. At the end, in the same hand-writing, is the tract *De Tribus Tabernaculis*; but this MS. appears not to be the original, from the faults which occur in it. We are, therefore,

perhaps, not mistaken, in placing the composition about the year 1230.

A MS. examined in 1671, the eighth in the possession of the abbey of St. Benoit, in Podolirone, begins thus, "Incipit liber Johannis primus de contemptu mundi." The famous MS. of Arone, which has engaged the two learned Jesuits, Possevin and Bellarmin, to adopt the opinion that Gersen was the author, informs us of his office in these words: "Incipiunt capitula libri primi abbatis Johannis Gersen." The name and office of the author is even repeated five times. From a copy printed at Venice, in 1501, we learn of what abbey he was principal. This copy belonged to the abbey of St. Catharine of the congregation of Mount Cassin. At the end are these words: "Johannis Gersen, Cancellarii Parisiensis, de contemptu mundi, libri quatuor finiunt." This note seems to be added by the printer: but a person better acquainted with the matter, remarks in the same copy, "Hunc librum non compilavit Johannes Gersen sed D. Johannes, abbas Vercellensis, ut habetur usque hodie manuscriptus in eadem abbazia." D. Constantin Cajetan saw this remark in 1615, and quotes it.

In a letter written by M. Du Cange to M. Dumont, Counsellor at Amiens, dated 17th August, 1671, he mentions, "That he had been at the conference relating to Thomas à Kempis, and, after the MS. he had seen, it might be asserted, without hazard of veracity, that the work was written by Gersen." This great man, says M. Velart, was so well convinced of this matter, that he always cited it as the work of the truly pious Jean Gersen. The above passage is given from the original letter, which M. Daubigny communicated.

Many other pieces have appeared under the name of Kempis, all which are so manifestly inferior to the Imitation, that a person who has read them once will have little inclination to repeat the perusal. It appears, by the testimony of a person who resided thirty-four years in the monastery of Mount St. Agnes, that he transcribed the whole Bible: "Scripsit bibliam nostram totaliter, et alios multos libros, pro domo et pro pretio. Insuper composuit varios tractatulos, ad ædificationem juvenum." He uses *scripsit* for the works which he transcribed, and *composuit* for those which he composed.

Thomas à Kempis lived, when a youth, at Daventry, in the house of Florentius, where, with other young men, for a subsistence, as printing was then either unknown, or in its infant state, he employed much of his time in transcripts of this kind. It is no improbable supposition, that,

from the frequent copies of the Imitation found in his writing, he became at last to be esteemed the original composer. To detract as little as possible from his praise, though not the author of the Imitation, his piety and zeal must endear his name to the latest times, and, by his indefatigable pains, he has contributed greatly to spread a book of genuine piety. He died at an advanced period of life\*, exempt from those corporeal infirmities to which aged persons are subject.

Sebastian Castalio, the learned editor of the bible so justly celebrated, who died in 1563, gave an edition of the Imitation in elegant Latin, which has been several times reprinted both in our own and foreign nations. It was formerly a book often put into the hands of our youth at Cambridge, when religious treatises were more in fashion than at present in both universities.

The Imitation of Christ early attracted the notice of our countrymen. A translation of the three books, which, in the design of the writer, appears to comprehend the whole work, was published by a clergyman named William Atkinson, prior to the reign of Henry VIII. but he omitted many passages, and in others made considerable variations from the literal sense. The fourth book, which treats of the sacrament in a manner peculiar to the Romish church, was first rendered into English by the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII. a lady less distinguished for her high rank, than for those amiable qualities which are an honour to the female sex, and whose beneficence and humility deserve general imitation. This fourth book was printed with the translation of Atkinson, just mentioned, and, if we mistake not, the name of Gersen is in the title page.

I met, by accident, lately, with a copy of the Imitation, printed at London in the black letter, before the year 1546, intitled, "A boke newly translated out of Latyn into Englishe, called the Followenge of Christe." The introduction begins thus: "Hereafter followeth a boke callyd, in Latyn, Imitatio Christi, that is to saye in Englyshe, The Followenge of Christe; wherein be contayned foure lytell boke: which boke, as some men afferme, was fyrst made and compyled in Latyn, by the famous clerke, Mayster Johan

Gersen, Chancellour of Paris." But the name of the Chancellor of Paris was Gerson, not Gersen, and he died in 1429; long after the abbot of Verceil.

I am acquainted with a gentleman, who has, in his collection, a book of prayers, composed by Catharine Parr, Queen to King Henry VIII. and printed in the black letter, in the year 1545, the greater part of which is a translation of some select passages of the Imitation, with little alteration; but there is no reference either to the name of the author, or even the title of the book. The reader is referred to Strype, for a catalogue of the works of that truly pious and amiable princess.

The same friend is also possessed of a good translation of this book by Edward Hake, printed in the black letter, in 1568, and dedicated to Thomas Duke of Norfolk. The translator has printed only three books, which he justly supposed to contain the whole of that excellent work, and to which, without naming any author, he has given the following title, "The Imitation or Following of Christ, and the Contemning of worldly Vanities; whereunto, as springing out of the same roote, we have adjoined another very pretie Treatise, intituled, The perpetual Rejoice of the Godly even in this Lyfe."

In the reign of Elizabeth, M. Rogers attempted another version from the Latin, and dedicated it to the Lord Chancellor Bromley; but this work is different from the literal sense, though no small degree of time and assiduity was employed in the translation. It is also evident, that he followed the Latin version of Castalio, and not the original.

There have been several translations since, of different merit. Dr. Worthington, whose memory will ever be dear to his countrymen, from a high opinion of this spiritual treatise, did not think his labour ill employed in a translation. It was first printed in 1652, and again in 1677, and is to be valued for its simplicity and faithfulness.

Dean Stanhope, whose Christian's Pattern has procured a favourable reception in the world, as a translation of this treatise, may rather be considered as a loose paraphrast, than an exact translator. His work is more varied from the original than that by Rogers, already spoken of.

The last translation is by J. Payne, first printed in octavo, 1763, and since in duodecimo, which is equally distinguished for its fidelity and elegance, and is certainly the best that has yet appeared.

The merit of the Imitation is so generally acknowledged, as to make any encomium in this place altogether unneces-

sary. Two eminent authors of the French nation have left to posterity their opinions of the book in the following words: viz. "The Imitation is the finest book which has proceeded from the pen of any man since the days of the evangelists:" M. de Fontenelle's *Life of the Great Corneille*. "The Imitation of Jesus Christ is one of the most excellent treatises which was ever composed. Happy the person, who, not content to admire its beauties, earnestly endeavours to reduce its precepts to practice!" M. Leibnitz's *Letters*, p. 77.

I am, &c.

1772, Dec.

C.

#### LV. *Superiority of Shakespeare's Description of Night.*

MR. URBAN,

OF all the topics on which the poets, ancient and modern, have exercised their imagination, and vied, as it were, with each other, for the victory, there is no one that has been more generally or more successfully attempted, than the *Description of Night*. Homer and Apollonius among the Greek, Virgil and Statius among the Roman writers, seem to have put forth all their strength on this favourite argument; and have each found their several admirers, who have weighed and adjusted their respective pretensions with a scrupulous exactness. Great as their merits are, I shall, with the leave of the critics, venture to assert, that they have all been eclipsed, in this one article, by the poets of our own nation. The copy of Homer's *Night-piece* has received some delicate touches, and exquisite heightenings, from the pencil of Pope, which render it superior to the original; and Shakespeare's dreadful description in *Macbeth* (not to mention the pleasingly picturesque one of Milton) infinitely excels all that have preceded it, as being an assemblage of the most striking images, perhaps, that nature itself can afford, or poetic fancy can form.

*Macbeth solus.*

Now o'er one half the world  
Nature seems dead, and wicked dreams abuse  
The curtain'd sleep; now witchcraft celebrates  
Pale Hecate's offerings; and wither'd murder



Alarm'd by his centinel, the wolf,  
Whose howl's his watch, thus with his stealthy pace,  
With Tarquin's ravishing strides, tow'rds his design  
Moves like a ghost. ———

This is truly a *night of horror*. We see here one half the globe buried in the profoundest sleep, except the three great enemies of mankind, *lust*, *witchcraft*, and *murder*; and them too waking only to perpetrate their deeds of darkness. We shudder whilst we read. We look round, affrighted and alarmed, expecting every moment to see the assassin's dagger lifted against us. The additional horror, which Mr. Garrick's inimitably-awful pronunciation breathed over this soliloquy, the last time I heard him repeat it, threw me into this train of thinking, and occasioned me, at my return home, to turn to the several descriptions before alluded to, and to some other celebrated ones of our English authors. Among these, none, I think, approaches so near the merit of Shakespeare's, as that of Marston, his contemporary, in the opening of his tragedy called Antonio's Revenge. As this play is not easily to be met with, I shall transcribe the passage.

*Piero solus.*

'Tis yet dead night: yet all the earth is clutcht  
In the dull, leaden hand of snoring sleep.  
No breath disturbs the quiet of the air,  
No spirit moves upon the breast of earth,  
Save howling dogs, night crows, and screeching owls;  
Save meagre ghosts, Piero, and black thoughts.

My edition of this play is of the year 1602: it cannot, therefore, be doubted but Shakespeare had read it, before he wrote his *Macbeth*; probably had played a part in it, since we learn from Langbaine [Catalogue of Dramatic Authors, article MARSTON], that all Marston's pieces had been performed, and "approved by the audience at Blackfriars." It is, however, very observable, that, although this description consists of so many just and natural images, and is worked up in such strength and propriety of diction, with some of the most expressive and characteristic epithets in the English language; yet, such is the originality of Shakespeare's genius, that he has not copied even a single image, (for the ghost is only introduced by way of simile), nor adopted more than one epithet in his own description, and that too has been considerably improved in his hands, by the

manner in which he has applied it. Marston confines his ideas to the *night* alone, and this, by a bold metaphor, he represents as being actually *dead*: Shakespeare, with a much bolder flight of fancy, extends the epithet to *nature* herself; but, at the same time, with the strictest attention to propriety and truth, qualifies its force by the verb he makes use of; *nature* seems *dead*. Dryden, struck with the beauty and forcibleness of this image, has transplanted it into that well-known description in the Conquest of Mexico:

All things are hush'd, as *nature's* self lay *dead* :

Where it constitutes the principal figure in the piece, being equally just and noble in itself, and rising still higher in estimation, from a comparison with the many *conceits*, and affected prettinesses that appear in the succeeding lines:

- The mountains seem to *nod their drowsy head*;  
The little birds in *dreams their songs repeat*,  
And *sleeping* flow'rs beneath the night-dews *sweat*.

There is another description of the Night, which has been much and deservedly admired; I mean that of Lee, in his Theodosius: but had one\* of the critics who has noticed it, known how greatly it is indebted to Marston's for its principal beauties, he would not, probably, have passed over the old bard, without allowing him his due proportion of praise:

'Tis night, *dead night*, and weary nature lies  
So fast, as if she never were to rise;  
*No breath* of wind now whispers thro' the trees,  
No noise at land, nor murmur in the seas:  
Lean wolves forget to *howl* at night's pale noon,  
No wakeful dogs bark at the silent moon,  
Nor bay the *ghosts* that glide with horror by,  
To view the caverns where their bodies lie;  
The *ravens* perch, and no presages give,  
Nor to the windows of the dying cleave;  
The *owls* forget to scream, no midnight sound  
Calls drowsy echo from the hollow ground;  
In vaults the walking fires extinguish'd lie,  
The stars, heav'n's *centry*, wink, and seem to die.

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\* Trapp, in his notes on the fourth book of the *Aeneid*.

Almost every image is evidently taken from Marston; that of the *stars*, which are quaintly termed *heaven's centry*, is from a passage of the old poet, no less quaint, in the same scene with his Description of Night:

— You horrid scouts  
That *centinel* swart night —

It is, however, somewhat surprising, that Lee, when he was copying, should omit the finest image in the whole—*black thoughts*, especially as it would so admirably have suited the temper and situation of Varanes's mind, at the time the poet puts these beautiful lines into his mouth, which is just before he destroys himself.

*Caerhays, near Tregony, in  
Cornwall, Jan. 27.  
1774, Jan.*

Q.

MR. URBAN,

AS one of your correspondents has given Shakespeare's celebrated Description of Night, and asserted that it is not equalled by any other poet, I am desirous, by means of your Magazine, to contrast it with a passage from my favourite poet Dr. Young, and let the impartial public determine which has the preference.

MACBETH *solus*.

— “ Now o'er one half the world  
Nature seems dead, and wicked dreams abuse  
The curtain'd sleep; now witchcraft celebrates  
Pale Hecate's offerings; and wither'd murder  
Alarm'd by his centinel, the wolf,  
Whose howl's his watch, thus with his stealthy pace,  
With Tarquin's ravishing strides, towards his design  
Moves like a ghost.” *Shakespeare.*

DR. YOUNG.

“ Night, sable goddess! from her ebon throne,  
In rayless majesty now stretches forth  
Her leaden sceptre o'er a slumb'ring world.  
Silence how dead! and darkness how profound!  
Nor eye nor list'ning ear an object finds;  
Creation sleeps:—'tis as the general pulse  
Of life stood still, and nature made a pause,  
A wawful pause! prophetic of her end.” *Young.*

Do not imagine I mean to detract from the fame of the immortal Shakespeare, by the above parallel; I hold him in too much reverence to be capable of the thought: but, in my opinion, the beauty of the passage cited from Macbeth consists principally in the happy allusion of the *imagery* to the *circumstances* of Macbeth. Dr. Young's Description of Night is beautiful in the highest degree, considered as a *general* description; and is equally so in *whatever* circumstance you suppose the writer to be. The images are strong, bold, and natural, whether they are put into the mouth of a *murderer*, a *traveller*, or a *philosopher*.—It is not so with the celebrated speech of Macbeth; the chief beauty *there* arises from the peculiar circumstances of the speaker at the time. All the images, though sublime, are horrible, and suited to the mind of a man bent on a horrid design. It is unnatural, considered *merely* as a Description of Night; but considered as the speech of a *murderer*, just about to commit the horrid deed, it is in the highest degree just and natural: and, in this light the poet undoubtedly meant it should be considered. I may therefore repeat, without injustice to Shakespeare, that Dr. Young's Description of Night, considered merely as such, is much more natural and sublime than Shakespeare's; and is not, I believe, to be equalled by any poet, ancient or modern.

I am, your constant reader,

1774, Feb.

H. L.

#### LVI. Objections to Pope's Translation of Homer's Description of Night.

MR. URBAN,

YOUR correspondent Q. says, "the copy of Homer's Night-piece has received some delicate touches, and exquisite heightenings, from the pencil of Pope, which render it superior to the original." I happen to be of a very different opinion, and flatter myself most of your readers will be, so too, when they compare them both, and consider what I shall offer in arrest of judgment.

#### *Original.*

Ἄνδρες, ὅτε ἐν βροτῶν ἀνδράσιν ἀμφοτέρων τ'  
Φαίνεται ἀρετῆς ἔργα, τ' ἐπὶ λυγρῶν κτηνῶν ἀνδρεία,

Εν τ' ἴφαιον πασαι σκοπιαί, καὶ πρῶτον ἀκροί,  
 Καὶ ναπαὶ\* ἠερανθεν δ' ὑπερραγῇ ἀσπίτος αἰθήρ,  
 Πάντα δὲ τ' εἰδεται ἄστρα γυγνῆσι δὲ τὰ φρενα ποίμην.

Mr. Pope's translation, or rather paraphrase, is as follows :

“ As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,  
 O'er heav'n's clear azure spreads her silver light,  
 When not a cloud o'ercasts the solemn scene,  
 And not a breath disturbs the deep serene,  
 Around her throne the vivid planets roll,  
 And stars unnumber'd deck the shadowy pole,  
 O'er the dark trees a yellower verdure shed,  
 And tip with silver every mountain's head;  
 Then shine the vales, the rocks in prospect rise,  
*A flood of glory bursts from all the skies;*  
 The conscious swains, rejoicing in the sight,  
 Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light.”

Here, we see, five Greek lines are paraphrastically expanded into twelve English, one line in Homer being thought sufficient to furnish more verses in the landscape, or night-piece, given us by his translator, than are to be found in the whole simile in the original. But this is not all :—It is not only a paraphrase, but, through all the harmony of the versification, and brilliancy of the colouring, it is easy to discover some glaring blemishes, for which there is no warrant in the Greek. In particular, the splendor of the sun at noon-day could not be described more strongly than this moonlight night is in the line printed in Italics; and in the two last lines, by the introduction of *swains* in the plural number, the most striking allusion in the simile is lost: the *shepherd*, in the original, being Hector himself, the *pastor populi*, as the stars are the thousand fires kindled by the Trojans, while they watched their tents. Thus, in *Paradise Lost*, Book IV. verse 983.

——“ The careful ploughman doubting stands,  
 Lest on the threshing-floor his hopeful sheaves  
 Prove chaff.”——

is the angel Gabriel, who is solicitous for the safety of Adam and Eve.

To shew that all the same ideas may be comprised in nearly the same number of lines in English, accept the

following, for which, and also for some of the above remarks, I am indebted to the late reverend and ingenious Mr. Say.

As in still air, when round the queen of night  
The stars appear, in cloudless glory bright,  
The rock remote, the hills and vales are seen,  
And heaven diffuses an immense serene;  
Thus, while each star with rival lustre glows,  
The shepherd's heart with conscious joy o'erflows.

Yours, &c.

1774, Feb.

Crito.

LVII. Various Descriptions of Night compared.

\* MR. URBAN,

HAVING in your Magazine for Jan. produced several Descriptions of Night from the works of our English poets, and ventured to oppose them to the most celebrated ones of the Ancients; I ought to have added to the number that of Shakespeare in his *Midsummer Night's Dream*, not only on account of its poetic excellence, but as it was, probably, the original which furnished Marston with so many just and natural images:

The iron tongue of midnight hath told twelve——  
Now the hungry lion roars,  
And the wolf howls the moon,  
Whilst the heavy ploughman snores,  
All with weary task foredone.  
Now the wasted brands do glow,  
Whilst the scritch-owl, scritch-ing loud,  
Puts the wretch that lies in woe  
In remembrance of a shroud.  
Now it is the time of Night  
That the graves, all gaping wide,  
Every one lets forth his sprite,  
In the church-way paths to glide:

And we fairies that do run  
By the triple Hecat's team  
From the presence of the sun,  
Following darkness like a dream,  
Now are frolic ———

Midsum. N. Dr.\* Act V. Sc. 1, 2.

Shakespeare, it is evident, had no need to dress up his description in Macbeth with imagery culled from Antonio's Revenge, since his own glowing imagination had already, we see, in a prior piece, *bodied forth the forms of things unknown*, and adapted them to the occasion, *giving to airy nothings a local habitation and a name*.

The two last lines of Dryden's description in the Conquest of Mexico deserved likewise to have been noticed :

Even *lust* and *envy* sleep ; but love denies  
Rest to my soul, and slumber to my eyes.

The personification of *lust* and *envy*, and the investing of these abstract terms with the attributes of the *living*—the representing of them as *laid to sleep*—shews a much nobler flight of fancy than the personification of *silence* in Apollonius,

——— Σιγῇ δὲ μελαίνουμένην ἔχειν ὄφθινον,

or that of *sleep* in Statius,

——— totis ubi somnus inertior alis  
Defluit in terras, mutumque amplectitur orbem :

(though this latter image of *sleep brooding with wings expanded over the silent globe*, is, it must be confessed, highly animated, and truly poetical). The universal stillness and composure of the night are also much more finely and forcibly pourtrayed in this short *moral* sketch of Dryden, which exhibits the two most wakeful and tormenting passions incident to human nature as “lulled in pleasing slumber,” than by the several images drawn from the *natural world*—the silence of the *birds*, the *beasts*, the *trees*, the *rivers*, and the *sea*,—that are crowded together in Statius's description,

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\* This play was first printed (according to Mr. Capell's accurate table of the editions of Shakespeare's plays) in 1600 ; Antonio's Revenge in 1602.

— tacet omne pecus, volucresque, feræque,  
 \* Et simulant fessos curvata cacumina somnos :  
 Nec trucibus fluviiis idem sonus, occidit horror  
 \* Æquoris, et terris maria acclinata quiescunt,  
 and in the similar, though greatly superior one of Virgil,  
 Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem  
 Corpora per terras, sylvæque, et sæva quiêrant  
 Æquora : cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu :  
 Cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes, pictæque volucres,  
 Quæque lacus late liquidos, quæque aspera dumis  
 Rura tenent, somno positæ sub nocte silenti  
 Lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum.

But this is not all. There is another exquisite beauty in those lines of Dryden, arising from the contrast between the restlessness, the sober certainty of waking misery in the breast of Pizarro (who utters them), and the profound repose and tranquillity of all nature around :

— But *love* denies

† *Rest* to my soul, and *slumber* to my eyes.

This is a beauty of the same kind with that which the critics have admired in the Medea of Apollonius,

Ἄλλα μὲν ἔ Μήδεια ἐπὶ γλυκερὸς λαβὼν ὕπνος ;

and that copy of it in the Dido of Virgil.

At non infelix animi Phœnissa ; neque unquam  
 Solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem  
 Accipit —

The Italian poets, such of them at least as I have seen, have struck out nothing on the subject of *night*, worthy to rank with the models of these great masters. Even Tasso himself has given us only a *translation* (an elegant one indeed) from Virgil in the following beautiful lines :

\* Dryden seems to have taken the hint of two quaint fanciful lines from the second and fourth verses in this description of Statius :

The mountains seem to nod their drowsy head.

*Conquest of Mexico.*

— The waves more faintly roar,  
 And roll themselves asleep upon the shore.

*Rival Ladies.*

† Dryden is, however, indebted for this line to one of the Latin poets ;

Nella quies animo, nullus sopor, ardua amanti.

*Val. Flac. VII. 244. de Medea.*



Era la notte all' hor, ch' alto riposo  
 Han l'onde, e i venti, e pareva muto il mondo :  
 Gli animali lassi, e quei, che'l mar ondoso,  
 O de' liquidi laghi alberga il fondo,  
 E chi si giace in tana, o in mandra ascoso,  
 E i pinti augelli ne l'oblio profondo,  
 Sotto il silentio de' secreti horrori  
 Sopian gli affanni, e raddolciano i cuori.

The critical reader will perceive, on comparing this description with that in the fourth book of the *Æneid*, before given, that not only the images, but the expressions too, are almost literally copied from thence, with some few heightenings from the hand of the translator. Thus "the waves and the winds," *l'onde e i venti*, are coupled together with, perhaps, greater propriety in the copy, than *silvæque et æquora*, "the woods and the seas," are in the original; though it must at the same time be acknowledged, that the *sæva quierant* of the Mantuan poet is infinitely more animated and characteristic than the *han alto riposo* of the Tuscan one. Tasso has omitted the pleasing picturesque image of the "stars" in their courses [*medio voluntur sidera lapsu*], happily introduced by the judicious Virgil, to heighten and set off the serenity that prevailed throughout the heavens as well as the earth—that is, throughout *all nature*—on that particular night he is describing, in order to contrast it the more strongly, as the occasion required, with the *discomposure of Dido*. And he has supplied its place with the vague idea of a general stillness of the globe,—*e pareva muto il mondo*—borrowed, as it should seem, from the *mutumque amplexitur orbem* of Statius; but falls much below his original, both in the prosaic turn of the expression [*pareva*], and in the application of the image itself; which being a *general, uncharacteristic* one, thrust in amidst a group of *particular, appropriated* images—the silence of the *waves*, the *winds*, &c.—loses in Tasso's hands all the graces it had in the hands of Statius, where it is *properly* adapted to the conciseness of the description, and the *\*general* turn of the *rest* of the imagery. The seventh line of Tasso, *sotto il silentio de' secreti horrori*, is, indeed, a fine improvement upon Virgil's *somno posita sub nocte silenti*; it is, however, indebted for its principal beauty to an happy union of the ideas suggested by

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\* Scandebat roseo medii fastigia cæli  
 Luna iugo, totis ubi somnus inertior alis  
 Defluit in terras, mutumque amplexitur orbem.

Achilleid. I. 619.

another passage of this author, that breathes all the enthusiasm of pure, genuine poetry—*simul ipsa silentia terrent*.

I shall not enter into the comparative merit of Homer's *night-piece*, and the copy of it in Pope's translation. The curious reader may find this subject handled with great ingenuity by two eminent writers; Cooper in his elegant Letters concerning taste, and Melmoth in the Letters of Sir Thomas Fitzosborne.

*Caerhaes, near Tregony, in Cornwall,*  
*Feb. 18.*

Q.

1774, *March.*

LVIII. Critical Illustrations of Obsolete Passages in Shakespeare.

MR. URBAN,

THERE is a passage or two in the tragedy of Hamlet, which I have never yet seen explained to my satisfaction by any commentator. In Act I. Sc. 2, the King thus addresses himself to the Prince, his nephew :

But now, my cousin Hamlet, and my son ;

to which Hamlet (*aside*) replies,

A little more than *kin*, and less than *kind*.

Bishop Warburton, without the least necessity, considers *kind*, as an adjective; having first, without the least authority, proposed an alteration in the text, as stiff\* as it is arbitrary :

But now, my cousin Hamlet, *kind* my son.

\* When I say this, I do not forget the frequent use of the epithet *soon* before the pronoun possessive in this author; as "*good my Lord*," "*good my Liege*," "*good my Sovereign*," "*good my Mother*," &c. &c.—but this use of the addition *good* seems to have been a *familiar mode of expression* in the days of Shakespeare, as may, I think, be collected from a passage in Henry VI: 3d Part, Act. v. Sc. 6.

*Glo.* Good day, my Lord! what, at your book so hard?

*King.* Ay, my good Lord: my Lord, I should say rather;

'Tis sin to flatter, *good* was little better:

Good Gloster, and good devil, were alike,

And both preposterous; therefore, not *good Lord*.

And even in this inverted order of construction, "*good my Lord*," since it so

Dr. Johnson remarks, that *kind* is the Teutonic word for *child*; "Hamlet therefore," says he, "answers with propriety to the titles of *cousin* and *son*, which the king had given him, that he was somewhat *more* than *cousin*, and *less* than *son*." The explanation is plausible; but does not, I think, come up to the full meaning of the text, frittering away all the smartness and sting of the reply.

I have always supposed, with Sir Thomas Hanmer, that "this was a proverbial expression," of very ancient date; and have lately been confirmed in this opinion by the following passage in *Gorboduc*, a tragedy written by Lord Buckhurst, and first printed about two years after Shakespeare was born, 1565. Videna, *Gorboduc's* Queen, Act iv. Sc. 1. thus expresses her resentment against her younger son Porrex, the murderer of Ferrex, her elder son:

Thou, Porrex, thou this damned deed has wrought,  
Thou, Porrex, thou shalt dearly bye the same;  
Traitor to *kin and kind*, to sire and me,  
To thine own flesh, and traitor to thyself.

A passage also in Shakespeare, *Richard II.* Act iv. Sc. 1.

Peace shall go sleep with Turks and Infidels,  
And, in this seat of peace, tumultuous wars  
Shall *kin with kin*, and *kind with kind* confound—

serves to prove the truth of Hanmer's observation, that this was indeed "a proverbial expression;" though I cannot agree with him, when he adds, "known in former times for a relation so confused and blended, that it was hard to define it." For nothing can be more certain, than that the word *kind*, which occasions all the difficulty, in the passages above produced, uniformly signifies *nature*, as may still farther appear, by comparing them with the quotations\*

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frequently occurs in Shakespeare in that order. This may have led the learned Bishop into a mistake, and induced him to believe, that the epithet *kind* might be used with the same freedom, "*kind my son*;" whereas, though we do frequently meet with *that* epithet in our author (*Henry V.* Act iv. Sc. 3. *Henry VI.* 1st Part, Act iii. Sc. 1, and elsewhere), yet it is always in the proper and regular form of construction; nor can there be a single instance produced, in all his works, where it is placed *before* the pronoun possessive.

\* ——— A father? no:

In *kind* a father, not in kindness.

*Gorboduc*, Act i. Sc. 1.

And eke that they, whom *nature* hath prepared  
In time to take my place in princely seat,

below, from the same authors, where that word will evidently admit of no other sense. Hence we easily discover Hamlet's meaning to be, that the relation which he bore to the King, his uncle, was something *more* than that of *cousin*, or nephew—[*a little more than kin*]*—*the King having now married his mother; but though he was become his *son* by this marriage, yet was his new relationship still inferior to that of *nature*, still an *unnatural* one,—[*and less than kind*] the marriage being founded in two unnatural crimes, *murder* and *incest*; hereby sarcastically glancing at the enormity of the king's villany, who, by such a complication of vice, was against nature, entitled to call him his *son*, as well as his nephew, or *cousin*.

The other passage is in Act i. Sc. 3, where the Ghost, describing the unprepared state in which he was hurried by

May not be thought for their unworthy life,  
And for their lawless swerving out of *kind*,  
Worthy to lose what law and *kind* them gave.

*Ibid.* Sc. 2.

Only I mean to shew by certain rules,  
Which *kind* hath graft within the mind of man,  
That nature hath her order and her course.

*Ibid.*

Ferrex, my Lord, your elder son, perhaps,  
Whom *kind* and custom give a rightful hope  
To be your heir, and to succeed your reign,  
Shall think, &c.

*Ibid.*

This "*kind and custom*," and the "*law and kind*," in the passage before quoted, are afterwards explained by *law and nature*.

*Ferrex.* I marvel much what reason led the King,  
My father, thus, without all my desert,  
To reve me half the kingdom, which by course  
Of *law and nature* should remain to me.

*Ibid.* Act ii. Sc. 1.

But if you would consider the true cause—  
Why birds, and beasts, from quality and *kind*,—  
Why all these things change, from their ordinance,  
Their natures, and pre-formed faculties,  
To monstrous quality —————

*Jul. Cæsar*, Act i. Sc. 3.

The forest walks are wide and spacious;  
And many unfrequented plots there are,  
Fitted by *kind* for rape and villany.

*Tit. Andronic.* Act ii. Sc. 1.

You must think this, look you, that the worm will do his *kind*.

*Ant. Cleop.* Act v. Sc. 2.

his brother to the grave, uses the term *unanneal'd*. The line, in Mr. Capell's edition, runs thus:

Unhousel'd, unanointed\*, *unanneal'd*.

This word has been variously written, and variously interpreted:—*unanel'd*—importing, according to Pope, “no knell rung”—“*unknell'd*,”—as it were, or “*unknoll'd*.”—*unanneal'd*—signifying, in Theobald's opinion, “*unanointed*,” not having the *extreme unction*; from the Teutonic preposition *an*, and *ele*, i. e. *oil*:—and *unanneal'd* “that is, (says Hammer) *unprepared*,” because to *anneal* metals is to *prepare* them in manufacture:—Perhaps, after all, the proper reading may be *unannul'd*, from *annulus* [*a ring*], the obvious signification of which is, *without a ring on the finger*. Dr. Ducarel, in a curious work published a few years ago, entitled “*Anglo-Norman Antiquities considered*,” &c. shews it to have been the general practice to bury our ancient kings with *rings* upon their fingers; and mentions particularly the will of Richard II. who directs that he would be buried in this manner, *according to royal custom*. This custom might, probably, prevail in Denmark, as it did in this kingdom; and, if so, will serve to explain this passage, which has been given up by Dr. Johnson, with some others of the critics, and has proved a puzzle to all.

*Caerhaes, in Cornwall, Oct. 18.*

1774, *Oct.*

MR. URBAN,

YOU will much oblige some of your northern readers by inserting in your collection the following remarks on a difficult passage in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Scene III. Act I. Folio Edit. Hemings and Condell, 1685.

“Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin,  
“*Unhouzzled, disappointed, unanel'd.*”

The word *unanel'd* has perplexed all the commentators:

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\* Dr. Johnson reads *disappointed*, in the sense of *unprepared*; but it is not probable that the poet should use so general a term, when he is specifying the particular kinds of preparation the King wanted when sent to the grave, viz. the *haste*,—“*unhousel'd*”—*confession and absolution*—“*no reckoning made*,” &c.—The idea of his *general unpreparedness* had been fully expressed in the line preceding,

“Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin.”

Pope explains it, "having no knell rung."—Hanmer supposes it to signify 'unprepared,' because to *anneal* metals is to prepare them in manufacture. Theobald, indeed, guessed at the true meaning, but his explication has been invalidated by the learned Dr. Johnson, who, after having given the notes of his predecessors, observes, on his own authority, "that it is a difficult passage, and that he had not by his inquiry been able to satisfy himself." The subsequent extract from a very scarce and curious copy of Fabian's Chronicle, printed by Pynsen, 1516, seems to remove every possibility of doubt concerning the true signification of the words *unhousel'd* and *unanel'd*. The historian, speaking of Pope Innocent having laid the whole kingdom of England under an interdict, has these words; "Of the maner of this Enterdiccion of this Lande have I seen dyverse opynyons, as some ther be that saye that the Lande was enteidyted thorowly and the Churchis and Housys of Relygyon cloyd, that no where was used Masse, nor dyvyne service, by whiche reason none of the VII Sacraments all this terme shulde be mynystred or occupied, nor Chylde crystened, nor Man confessyd, nor marryed; but it was not so strayght. For there were dyverse placys in Englund, which were occupied with dyvyne Service all that season by Lycence purchaced than or before, also Chyldren were crystenyd thoroughe all the Lande and Men houselyd and anelyd." Fol. 14. Septima Pars Johannis.

The Anglo-Saxon noun-substantives *husel* (the eucharist) and *ele* (oil) are plainly the roots of these last quoted compound adjectives. For the meaning of the affix *an* to the last, I quote Spelman's Gloss. in loco. "Quin et dictionibus (an) adjungitur, siquidem vel *majoris notationis* gratia, vel ad *singulare aliquid*, vel *unicum demonstrandum*." Hence *an-elyd* should seem to signify *oiled* or *anointed* by way of eminence, *i. e.* having received extreme unction. For the confirmation of the sense given here there is the strongest internal evidence in the passage. The historian is speaking of the VII Sacraments, and he expressly names five of them, viz. baptism, marriage, auricular confession, the eucharist, and *extreme unction*.

The publishing a discovery made by accident cannot justly subject me to the imputation of vanity, yet I cannot help thinking it rather a *lucky hit* to have stumbled upon a passage that leads to the certain investigation of that which has perplexed the most eminent commentators on the text of Shakespeare. The antiquary is desired to consult the edition of Fabian, printed by Pynsen, 1516, because there are

others, and I remember to have seen one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with a continuation to the end of Queen Mary, London, 1559, in which the language is much modernised. If I mistake not, our poet has been very conversant in this Chronicle. It is an old Gothic pile, out of the ruins of which he seems to have picked many of his foundation-stones.

*Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*  
*1776, March.*

J. B.

MR. URBAN,

ABOUT twelve months ago I communicated to the public, by your means, my thoughts on that passage in Hamlet,

“Unhousel’d, unanointed, unanel’d;”

in which “unanointed” seemed to me a gloss or explanation of “unancel’d,” and therefore could hardly be allowed to stand, and accordingly I proposed substituting “unappointed,” not fitted at all points by prayers, confession, and absolution. I ventured to suppose that “unaneled” was right, as it came near the original word *ελασιος*; but did not then know, that it was the reading of all the old editions. See Supplement to Mr. Steevens’s edition. Nor should I have troubled you again on the same subject, had I not said there, that I remember to have read much the same words employed in recording the exit of some of our sovereigns: I should have said, noblemen.

The passage that I had in my mind occurs in a magnificent folio, containing an account of the several families that have possessed Drayton, &c. in Northamptonshire, now the estate of Lord George Germaine, by — Halsted. As the book is extremely scarce,\* I shall transcribe a curious passage from it.

P. 218. Deposition of Thomas Merbury, Esq. about the Earl of Mordaunt’s death.

“Which will the said Mordaunte (a serjeant at law) then

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\* It is sometimes said, that only five copies of it were taken off; which cannot be true; as there are two copies at Drayton, one in the Duke of Devonshire’s possession, one in the Harleian Library, one not long ago in a circulating library in London, and one among Bishop Moore’s books in the Royal Library, Cambridge, marked R. 1. 4. and most probably more that I have not heard of.

red to the seid Erle, when he was *anoyled*, and in extreme peynes of doth, soe that the seid Erle neither herde, nor understode, what the seid Mordaunt red."

I suppose the will was read while he was in anoyling, and in extreme, &c. so that he could not attend. This happened 24th March, 1498.

P. 221. Deposition of Thomas Cade, Clarke, Parson of Buckworth.

"The said Erle prayed and required this deponent that he would housel him—and he answer'd, my lord, I have made ev'ry thing in full redyness to go to mass, if ye be so pleased, and, when mass is done, to housel you. Ney, seid the same Erle, I pray let me not tarry so long." He then confesses him, absolves him, says mass in the chamber, and gives him the sacrament. Afterwards went and attended on high mass performed by the Earl's chaplain in the chapel. Was called in an hurry to my lord by a servant, found my lord *all alone*, lighted a fise (pese 284. perh. peice) of wax that was hallowed, and said these words following, "In manus tuas, Domine, &c. and in the same moment the said Erle departed to God out of this present lyfe; and thus this deponent left the deed body of the said Erle, whose soul God absolve."

P. 222. Deposition of James Walbef. "The seid Erle was howsell'd by the hands of the said Sir Thomas Cade."

It is remarkable that the priest says nothing of extreme unction, or will read at that time, and other witnesses present; and though he says he found and left my lord all alone, yet a servant swears that he staid with him to his death. This servant might be the person that called the priest; and might come in with him, and stay unnoticed.

In Leland's Collect. &c. 4. 309. last edition, "the said corpse (of H. VII.) assolled, saying this collect, Absolvi-mus," &c.

We have therefore here at least two words that may stand instead of "unanointed," viz. unabsolved, unassolled; the first, I think, rather too prosaic, and the other in sound too like what "unaneled" means: I should, therefore, still prefer "unappointed," if a good authority for the use of it could be produced;\* I mean, in the sense of *properly fitted out for a journey to the other world*. In Lambard's

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\* In the folio edition in the Editor's possession, the line is printed thus:  
"Unhouzzled, disappointed, unaneld."



Topographical Dictionary, we have, p. 227, *Ryd princely appointed*. And as to “unaneled” for *unanoiled*, it is remarkable that *absolve* is written *assoll*, *assoil*, and *asseiled*. Leland’s Itin. 1745, iv. 1664, &c. and Lambard’s Top. Dict. p. 384.

1776, *April*.

LIX. The Latin Adage, *Incidis in Scyllam*, &c. whence taken.

MR. URBAN,

THE following transcript from Dr. Jortin’s Life of Erasmus, vol. ii. p. 151, will fully account for a Latin adage very frequently quoted; but, I believe, not commonly attributed to its right author. It will, I doubt not, be acceptable to many of your curious readers; and the insertion of it in your next Magazine, will also oblige,

Your constant reader,

*Nov. 22.*

ERASMOPHILOS.

“Galeottus Martius of Narni, who died A.D. 1476, hath first discovered that this verse,

*Incidis in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim,*

was of Philippus Gualterus in his *Alexandreis*. ‘Hoc carmen,’ says he, in his book *De Doctrina Promiscua*, cap. 28. ‘est Gualteri Galli de gestis Alexandri, et non vagum proverbium, ut quidem non omnino indocti meminerunt.’—Piquier, in his *Recherches*, L. iii. c. 29. hath since made the same remark. This Phillipe Gaultier (called de Chatillon, though born at Lisle in Flanders) lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. We have from him, amongst other works, his poem entitled *Alexandreis*, in ten books, and not in nine, as says J. G. Vossius, *De Poetis Latinis*, p. 74. The verse cited above is in L. v. 301, where the Poet addressing himself to Darius, who flying from Alexander fell into the hands of Bessus, says;

Quo tendis inertem,

Rex periture, fugam? Nescis, heu perditte, nescis

Quem fugias: hostes incurris, dum fugis hostem.

*Incidis in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim.*

1774, *Nov.*

Menagiana, T. iii. 130.”

## LX. Names retained when their origin is disused.

MR. URBAN,

WE have a species of words in our language, that is, certain names of things, which, being originally derived and borrowed from customs and practices, now disused, carry with them an air of impropriety, and, for the same reason, their etymology is, in many cases, very greatly obscured. To explain my meaning by an example—the word *minster*, in Saxon, *minstre*, from the Latin *monasterium*, we apply very generally to our cathedral or collegiate churches, as when we say *Fork-minster*, or *Southwell-minster*; and yet these churches are at present very far from having any thing of the nature of *monasteries* in them. But the words of Mr. Thoresby, the famous Leeds antiquary, are so pertinent to the subject, that I shall here transcribe them, as sufficient for the purpose of making a proper preamble to the following list or catalogue.

“Reason tells us,” says this gentleman, “that, before the use of metals was found out, the *Aborigines* in each country would make use of stones, flints, shells, bones, &c. formed, in the best manner they could, to the various uses they designed them; and it is usual for such instruments or utensils gratefully to retain, even in different languages, the memory of the matter they were first made of, as *cockleare*, a *spoon*, (tho’ of *metal*) because *cockle-shells* were first used for that purpose. So *candle-stick*, or *staff* (for it is *candle stæk* in the Saxon monuments); so likewise *hooks* (Amos iv. 2.) in the original, is *thorns*, with which they used to pierce fish, before they had the skill of applying iron to that use. And, to give but one instance more, the sharp knives (Josh. v. 2.) used in circumcision, are, by our Saxon ancestors, (who received their very names from the weapon called *seax*, or *seax*, *culter*, *gladius*) styled *stenene seax*, (Mr. Thwaites’s Sax. Hept.) which in the original is *knives of flint*, which is more agreeable both to those parts of the world, where there was but little iron, and to that operation, wherein the Jewish Doctors say that sharp flints or stones were used\*.”

All I shall add to these learned and judicious observations,

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\* Mr. Thoresby, in Leland’s Itinerary, vol. iv. p. 7. See also his Museum, p. 566, where the same is repeated.

is, that the *horn* was anciently used for a drinking vessel, as indeed it still is in many country places, and retained the name of a *horn*, though made of richer materials; whence Athenæus, from Pindar, says, ἐξ ἀργυρείων κέρατων πινόμε, *drinking out of silver horns*\*; and that, to the list which is intended to follow, many names of places in England might be annexed, which are formed from the religious houses that once there subsisted, but are now no more: as Monks-Horton, Monks-Risborough, &c. Warminster, Westminster, &c. Abbots-Langley, Abbots-Bromley, &c. Many towns are also denominated from saints, with whom we have at this day no concern, as St. Alban's, St. Edmund's Bury, St. Neot's, St. Ive's, &c. and again, that some saints, in great esteem anciently, no doubt, are, at this time, so rarely heard of, and so little known, that it is very difficult sometimes to investigate them.—I now go on to the list.

#### THE BARK.

By this word, in the north of England, is meant the candle-box, which hangs in the common room, for the purpose of receiving the ends, or pieces of candles. The reason of the name is, that, at first, it was only a piece of bark nailed up against the wall, as sometimes one sees it now at this day; but, in other houses, it still retains the name, though it be made of better materials, of brass or tin.

#### BORSHOLDER.

In the ancient police of this kingdom, established, as supposed, by King Ælfred, the counties were divided into hundreds and tithings, so that every man lived in some tithing. And "that," says Mr. Lambard, the famous Kentish antiquary, "which in the West Country, was at that time, and yet is, called a *tithing*, is, in Kent, termed a *borow*, of the Saxon word *borh*, which signifyeth a *pledge*, or a *surety*; and the chief of these pledges, which the *western men* [and we may add the northern men] call a *tithingman*, they of Kent name a *borsholder*, of the Saxon words *borhes ealder*, that is to say, the most ancient, or elder, of the *pledges*†." The *borsholder* answers in some

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\* Athenæus, Lib. ii.

† Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 27.

respects to the petty constable, and the name is still continued in Kent, though King Ælfred's establishment is now grown obsolete.

#### A BROOM.

This was formerly made of the shrub of that name, but is now applied to implements of the same use, though made of birchen twigs, or hog's bristles.

#### *Napier's* or *Neper's* BONES.

These are an instrument, invented by J. Napier, Baron of Merchiston, in Scotland, for the purpose of expediting the multiplication and division of large numbers; and they keep the name of *bones*, though they are usually made of box; the first set, no doubt, as made by his Lordship, were of bone.

#### BAKE-STONE.

The bake-stone used in the north for baking of oat-cakes was at first of stone; and thence took its name. It is now sometimes made of sow-metal, but nevertheless is still called a bake-stone; though it must be acknowledged, that, stones are now more commonly used for the purpose.

#### BONFIRE.

This is so called according to Mr. Bagford, in his letter to T. Hearne, (Leland's Collection, I. p. LXXVI.) because it was originally made of bones. See also Bourne, *Antiq. Vulg.* p. 215. and T. Hearne's *Præf. ad Gul. Neubrig. Hist.* p. LXXII. However, there appears to me to be some doubt about the occasion of this name, since Stow says, (*Survey of London*, p. 307. edit. 1754.) speaking of bonfires in the streets, and the tables there set out with sweet bread and good drink. "These were called bonfires, as well of good amity amongst neighbours, that, being before at controversy, were there by the labour of others reconciled, and made of bitter enemies loving friends; as also for the virtue that a great fire hath, to purge the infection of the air." He intimates in the same page, that these fires were usually made of wood. Let the reader judge; but I must observe, that, if bones were formerly used as the fuel, they are now universally left off, though the name remains.

#### CANDLESTICK.

This was once also called *candlestaff*; and it is certain, that, before metals and better materials were used, nothing but a stick was employed. I have seen a stick slit at one end for the purpose of holding the candle, as also three nails stuck in a stick for the same use: and we still call this utensil a candlestick, though it may be made of silver, brass, glass, &c.

#### CHRIST-CROSS-ROW.

The *alphabet* is commonly so called, though now it is often printed without a cross being prefixed, as formerly.

#### CARD, or SEAMAN'S CARD.

This means the mariner's compass, the points being delineated on a card anciently, whatever they are now, and so it is called a card still.

#### HORN, and FRENCH HORN.

At first, horns were used both for blowing and drinking, and the name continued, though both the drinking-horn and the blowing-horn were made of better substances, ivory, silver, brass, &c.

#### AN IRON, or SMOOTHING-IRON.

These were made at first of hammered iron, but now are generally made of sow-metal, but are still called irons.

#### KERCHIEF, and HANDKERCHIEF.

The kerchief, as the French word *couverchef* imports, was originally worn on the head, but now, though it keeps the name, it is commonly worn about the neck or in the pocket, and so there is an impropriety in terming it an *handkerchief*.

#### LEAF.

This answers to the Latin *folium*, which was applied to books, because the ancients wrote on the leaves of trees or plants. The Latin *liber* in like manner took its name from the *bark* on which they wrote. We, though we write on paper, still keep calling the constituent parts of books, *leaves*.

## POT.

A pot is properly, and in strictness of speech, a vessel made of earth; hence a potter and a pottery; but it is now applied to utensils for boiling, though they are composed of very different materials, as brass or iron; as also to vessels for drinking, though they consist of silver (as the coffee-pot), or pewter. By a pot of beer we also mean a quart.

## POLE, OR PERCH.

This is now a certain measure of sixteen feet and a half, forty poles making a quarter of an acre: the reason of this name is, that, though land may be now measured by a chain, the custom formerly was to do it by a pole of this length. The case is the same with a *rod of work*, which no doubt was measured at first by a rod or pole; as likewise with the *yard*, the length of three feet, which was adjusted by a *yerde* or *virga*, of that length. Yerde and rod seem to me to be the same word, by a *metathesis* of letters, as common in our language. Hither also may be referred the *cord*, meaning a certain and determinate quantity of wood, when stacked, namely as much as was usually measured at once by a cord or string.

## PASTEBOARD.

The covers of books were anciently made of boards; many are now remaining in their original binding made of that material. Folds of paper were afterwards pasted together for covers; and this substance, though so different from the former, preserved the name of board, being called pasteboard.

## POKING-STICK, OR SETTING-STICK.

This is now commonly made of bone or steel, but formerly was really a stick. V. Stow, Chronicle, p. 1038.

## STIRROP.

It is evident from various monuments of antiquity, that at first people rode without either saddles or stirrups; and when the latter began to be used here in this island, especially by our Saxon ancestors, a rope was applied for the purpose of mounting, and was termed a *stigh-rope*, from *stigan*, *ascendere*. That this is the true etymology of the word is evident from the Saxon name of the thing, *stigerapa*,

*stapia*. There is no rope, however, used at this day about the modern stirrops. Of this, and sallet-oil, I may say more to you perhaps hereafter; at present I go on.

#### SCABBARD.

The sheath used for a sword, of which Junius gives this etymon: "Videtur esse a Teut. Schap, promptuarium, theca. V. quæ infra annotamus in *Scep*, cumera. Gawino Episc. Dunkel. in Scot. translatione Virgiliana, circa initium xi. *Æneid*. *evore scalbert* dicitur eburnea vagina." I think it very plain from this passage of Gawin Douglas, that the true orthography is *scalbord*, corrupted since to *scabbard*. Now *scalbord* implies a board, or rather two pieces of board, hollowed for the reception of the blade of the sword, and then fastened together with glue. The two pieces would be called *scales*, just as the two *laminae* in the handle of a knife are termed by the cutlers *scales*. In short, the sheath of the sword was formerly, as I apprehend, made of wood, though it is now composed of leather. Mr. Ed. Lhuyd, in *Archæol. Brit.* p. 15, writes it *sgabard*.

#### A STONE.

A weight of 14lb. in some places only of 8lb. The reason of the name is, that weights at first were generally made of stone, Deut. xxv. 13. and we see some few of the sort now; but most commonly they are made, the larger ones especially, of lead, but still go by the old name.

#### STONE-BOW.

This is the cross-bow. Wisdom of Sol. v. 22. and Littleton's Dict. in *voce*. The French call it *pierrier*. The reason of the term in both languages is, that formerly the bullet, discharged by the cross-bow, was commonly made of stone.

#### STEAN-POT.

This should, by the etymon, be made of stone, but is usually earthenware.

#### TOUCH-HOLE.

Our fire-arms were at first discharged, by applying a lighted match to the touch-hole, and consequently by *touching* the hole, as is now done in firing great guns. And though that method is now left off, by means of the later improvement of the lock, the hole still keeps its old name.

## TREACLE.

*Θηριακον*, *Theriaca*, corrupted afterwards to *theriacal*, was originally a medicine, or compound, good against the bite of a serpent. From this *theriacal* comes the modern word *treacle*; and though the treacle of the apothecary, and the grocer's treacle, which is the molasses, are not now used with any such intention, they still keep a name borrowed from the first intention of the medicine or antidote.

## THIRDBOROW.

This is a corruption of *headborow*, the same in the north as tithingman, or borsholder in the south. See Borsholder.

## UPSHOT.

Though archery is now so much disused amongst us, the term *upshot* (for which see Stow's Survey of London, I. p. 302), in the sense of the end or conclusion of any business, is still retained.

## WINDOW.

The windows of houses and churches were either entirely open, or filled with lattice-work, formerly. Hence Judges, v. 29. we read, "The mother of Sisera looked out at a window, and cried through the lattice." These apertures were commonly the places where the wind entered the buildings, and so took the name of window, though now, being closed with glass, nothing of that nature attends them; on the contrary, they are now so contrived as to exclude the wind.

## WARD.

A term relative to a forest, and still used in places to which forests extended; though such forests are now no more. The same may be said of forests themselves, which are still so called, though they are not now properly forests.

These, Mr. Urban, are all the instances I can recollect at present: many more, no doubt, will occur to others, who perhaps may not be displeased to be put into a way of thinking on a subject that is sure to afford them some amusement.

Yours, &c.

1774, June, July.

T. ROW.

MR. URBAN,

I HERE beg leave to add, as a supplement to what I advanced in your late Magazine on the word *stirrop*, that, in



Matth. Paris, p. 565, the word *strepā* apparently signifies 'a stirrop.' See also Dr. Watts's Glossary there in *voce*. St. Jerome, again, has *strapia*, for the same thing: and there is likewise such a word in Latin as *struppus*, for 'a string or thong;' whence some, perhaps, may incline to fancy (the lovers, I mean, of etymology), that the word *stirrop* may have come to us from some of those barbarous Latin words;\* that the *strap* and *stirrop* had the same original, and that they meant one and the same thing. Dr. Watts, I think, was of that opinion; and it is certain, that *strepo*, in Blount's Tenures, p. 33, signifies 'a stirrop,' and that Dr. Littleton, in the word *struppus*, says, "Hinc Angl. a strap, a stirrup." But now, as I esteem the orthography of the word to be *stirrop* (so Skelton writes it, p. 188), and not *stirrup*, as Dr. Littleton gives it†, it is more natural to think it took its name from a *rope*, formerly used instead of a leathern strap now in vogue, *sti-rope* meaning the *rope* by which they used to ascend or mount their horses. Thus *sty* signifies to *ascend*, in the Mirrour of Magistrates, p. 402, where Sir Anthony Woodville, Lord Rivers, says,

Then grew the king and realm to quiet rest,  
Our stock and friends still *sty*ing higher and higher.

And *stee-hopping* is playing the hobby-horse, that is, hopping high, in Somersetshire. Hence also the word *stile*, *scalarium*, *scala*; from the A. Sax. *stigle*, which word *stile* is pronounced, in Derbyshire, *stee*, the very name they give to a ladder in Yorkshire, the degrees of which are in many places called *steles*. Hence, again, the word *stair* comes from the Saxon *stegher*, *gradus*, which is derived from *stigan*, *ascendere*, as *sty*, *stee*, *stile*, or *stigle*, or *steles*, above-mentioned, all are. This etymology of the word *stirrop* is certainly much corroborated by the Saxon name of it, which I mentioned in my last paper, viz. *stigerapa*, plainly shewing, that it is an easy derivation from *stigh-rope*, and manifestly ought to have the preference before any of those barbarous words specified above.

I shall now take the liberty, Mr. Urban, to add a word on *sallet-oil*; a subject intimately connected with my late paper, but for which I had then no room. People are very

\* *Slippa* is used, in Blount's Tenures, p. 31, for a stirrup; but I suspect it to be an error, for *stippa*, which occurs in Camden, Col. 1023.

† Dr. Plott also so writes it, Hist. Staff. p. 977, and more corruptly, viz. *sturtup*, p. 376.

apt to imagine, that this sort of oil is named from its being used in mixing *sallads for eating*, as if the true way of writing it was *sallad-oil*; but, Sir, the oil used in cookery was always of a better and sweeter sort than that rank stuff called *sallet-oil*. The truth is, the *sullet* was the head-piece in the times that defensive armour was so much in use, and *sallet-oil* was that sort of oil which was used for the cleaning and brightening it and the rest of the armour. Thus, you have “a *sallet* and *ij sculles*” in the inventory of Mr. Lawrence, rector of Stavely, co. Derb. The word occurs again in the inventory of Pet. Tretchvile, Esq. anno 1581; and also in the description of the sarcastical coat of arms of Cardinal Wolsey,

Arise up, Jacke, and put on thy salatt.

In an indictment for an assault of the citizens of Canterbury, anno 1501, upon the people of Christ-Church there, it runs, “*Brigenderis, jackys, salettis, scullis, et gauntelettis*,” &c. where the assault, mentioned likewise in English, stands thus, “*Brygandyrans, jakks, salets, sculles, and other armor*.” See also Dr. Cowel in *roce*, and Fabian, p. 404, whose words are, “and dyd on him hys bryganders set with *gylt nayle*, and his *salet* and *gylte sporres*.” In sum, it is the French word *salade*, for which see the dictionaries, and Menage’s *Origine de La Lang. Franc. in roce*. On the whole, you see, Sir, what is most to the point, that though the *sallet* is now entirely out of date, yet the oil retains the name, which is the very thing I proposed, in these short sketches, to illustrate.

I am, &c.

1774, Sept.

T. Row.

LXI. Nugæ Venales.—Pugna Porcorum.

MR. URBAN,

AS matters of singularity are sometimes received as proper subjects for your entertaining *Melange*, I shall beg leave to introduce one here. Hubald, a monk, who flourished A.D. 916, and consequently in the tenth century, otherwise called the *obscure age*, wrote a book, consisting of 300 hexameter verses, in praise of baldness, whereof every line began with C, and he addressed his work to Charles

the Bald, or Carolus Calvus, the emperor. This piece, which began,

“Carmina clarisonæ calvis cantate Camcænæ,  
Comere condigno conabor carmine calvos,”

has been several times printed. This reminds one of what Jul. Capitolinus relates concerning the strange whim of the young Emperor Antonius Geta, who ordered for his dinner such dishes as began with the same letter. But as the passage is curious, and not long, I will here transcribe it: “Habebat etiam istam consuetudinem, ut convivium et maxima prandia per singulas literas juberet, scientibus servis, velut in quo erat anser, aprugna, anas; item pullus, perdix, pavo, porcellus, piscis, perna, et quæ in eam literam genera edulium caderent; et item fasianus, farta, ficus, et talia.”

But, to be ingenuous, Mr. Urban, I have a motive of my own for troubling you, at this time, with the above fanciful puerilities; for I really want some information and assistance in regard to a matter of the same kind, which I am just now going to mention. There has come to my hand a small book in 24mo. intitled,

“*Nugæ Venales. Sive Thesaurus vivendi et jocandi. Ad gravissimos severissimosque viros, Patres Melancholiorum conscriptos. Anno 1648. Prostant apud neminem; sed tamen ubique.*” It is a jest book in Latin, much like that of Nicodemus Frischlinus and Henricus Bebelius, printed together at Amst. 1651. Now, Sir, at the end of the book in question, there is a little piece with a new paging, but, as it has the same cut, and was printed the same year, may be looked upon as a part, or an appendix to the former, intitled,

“*Pugna Porcorum per P. Porcium, Poetam.*

*Paraclesis pro Potore.*

*Perlege porcorum pulcherrima prælia, potor,  
Potando poteris placidam proferre poësin.*”

It is a satirical jumble of words aimed at the obesity and laziness of the prelates, and alluding to contentions between them and the inferior clergy, or laity, but whether to any particular contest I am at a loss to find out, and therefore, if any of your learned correspondents happen to know any thing of the story, or its author, I shall be obliged to them for their information. For my part, I have run the piece over, but can understand little or nothing of it, insomuch that I am under a necessity of intreating assistance from

elsewhere. However, to give the reader some imperfect notion of its whimsicalness and extravagance; I shall subjoin the Dedication prefixed in prose, as containing something like the argument of the performance, and after that a few of the lines.

“Potentissimo Patrono Porcianorum, P. Porcius, Poeta, Prosperitatem precatur plurimam.

“Postquam publice porci putamur, præstantissime Patrone, placuit porcorum pugnam, poemate pangere, potissime proponendo pericula pinguium prælatorum; pugnant pigriter pusillanimi prælati propter pinguedinis pondus, porro potentius porcelli pauca proceritate perpolititi: propterea placeat precor puerile poema perlegere porcorum porcellorumque pugnam propositionibus pictam paribus, perpræpostere.”

The poem begins,

“Plaudite porcelli, porcorum pigra propago  
Progreditur, plures porci pinguedine pleni.  
Pugnantes pergunt, pecudum pars prodigiosa  
Perturbat pede petrosas plerumque plateas,  
Pars portentose populorum prata profanat,  
Pars pungit populando potens, pars plurima plagis  
Prætendit punire pares, prosternere parvos,” &c.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1776, Nov.

T. Row.

MR. URBAN,

ON perusing your Magazine for Nov. 1776, wherein the ingenious Mr. Row has given an account of a singular publication, intitled “*Nugæ Venales*,” it occurred to me that I could in some measure give him the information he desired respecting the author of the poem affixed as an appendix to the Jocularia.

When at Oxford in the year 1774, I was favoured with a sight of the piece Mr. R. has described, which was delivered to me as a curious production of a music-master (I think a German) then in the university, a Mr. Lates. It begins with the lines given in your Magazine.

Plaudite porcelli, porcorum pigra propago  
Progreditur”—

and consisted of about 350.

What might be the musician’s intention of palming on

the world, as his own, a composition incontestably the offspring of another, I will not pretend to say—But that it had been printed “as yet Mr. Lates’s image being unformed,” is sufficiently clear from a review of “*Les Bigarrures du Seigneur des Accords*,” and of the “*Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ Socraticæ*” of Dornavius. In both these the poem is ascribed to an “*Allemande*, one Petrus Porcius, so nicknamed from the subject-matter he so laboriously and fancifully discussed,—his real name being Petrus Placentius.” This account is further confirmed by Baillet, in his tract “*des Auteurs Deguisez*.” The passage relative to our author runs thus: “*Enfin il s’est trouvé un poëte, qui voulant decrire un Combat de Porcs, s’est fait appeller Publius Porcius—son ouvrage estoit un de ces poëmes que nous appellons Lettrisez ou Tautogrammes, et tous les mots de la piece commençant par la lettre P, il n’auroit rien gasté de son œconomie, s’il s’estoit appellé Petrus Placentius, qui estoit son nom, mais il luy préféra celui de Porcius.*”

To these authorities may be added that of M. Le Clerc, who hath given us the age in which the poet lived, with an account of his other publications, though he wholly differs from Dornavius and Baillet in his prænomen. Le Clerc says that his name was Johannes Leo Placentius, a Dominican monk, born at St. Imden, and lived in the 16th age, in 1536; that he composed a history of the bishops of Tongres, Mæstricht, and Liege, taken out of fabulous memoirs, and several poems, among the rest, one *de Porcorum Pugna*, all the words whereof begin with the letter P, imitating one Theobaldus, a monk of the order of St. Benedict, who (as your correspondent has remarked) flourished in the time of Charles the Bald, to whom he presented a Panegyric on Baldness, every word beginning with the letter C. From the matter of Placentius’s poem, it appears to be written by one to whom the dignitaries of the church were obnoxious, being levelled, in a satirical strain, (as Mr. Row observes,) against their obesity and indolence; though the contest between them and the inferior clergy may be referred, I should rather suppose, to the “*Licentia Poetica*,” than to any real occurrence, or probably to some incident in the fabulous memoirs above noticed. The catalogue of authors that have thus trifled away their time, might be numerously enlarged, whose compositions must have cost vast labour in the production, and are equally *useless* and *illaudable* when composed. For, as Martial says,

Turpe est difficiles habere nugas,  
Et stultus labor ineptiarum.—

I cannot quit the subject without remarking, that the ingenious Mr. Addison has humourously ridiculed the writers of this stamp, in the 59th and 68d Nos. of his *Spectator*; among others, Tryphiodorus, deservedly known to the world, by a poem intituled, *ἸΛΙΟΥ ΛΑΩΣΙΣ*, the Destruction of Troy, being a sequel to the *Iliad* of Homer, translated by the late learned Mr. Merrick.

I am, Sir, yours,

1777, Feb.

J. P.

LXII. *Conjecture on an obscure Passage in Shakespeare.*

MR. URBAN,

“ *Or to take arms against a sea of troubles.*”

Hamlet, Act III. Sc. 1.

THE incongruity of metaphors in these well-known words has exercised the pens of many a critical admirer of Shakespeare; but there is another passage in the same play, which has not been so frequently noticed, though, according to the present reading, the images in it seem to be rather improperly blended. The lines to which I refer are in Act II. Scene 1. where Polonius, having discovered his want of sagacity in advising Ophelia to discountenance Hamlet's addresses, because he thought the prince only trifled with his daughter, delivers himself as follows :

“ That hath made him mad.

I'm sorry, that with better *speed* and *judgment*  
I had not *quoted* him.”

Dr. Warburton peremptorily pronounced *quoted* to be nonsense, and said it appeared, though he shewed not how, that Shakespeare wrote *noted*; and Dr. Johnson, not approving of this alteration, was willing to believe, that *quote* here signifies to reckon, to take an account of, to take the *quotient* or result of a computation. However, as this very learned editor, notwithstanding “ his longer acquaintance with the lexicography of our language than any other writer,” has

not cited an instance of this use of the word *quote*, I may venture to conclude he had never met with one in any author. I am, I must own, inclined to suspect that for *quoted* we ought to read *quoited*. The omission of the *i* in the diphthong *oi* might easily happen through the negligence or inattention of a transcriber, a printer, or a corrector of the press; and some reasons may be given why this emendation ought not to be deemed a whimsical surmise. In the old quarto the word is *coted*; and I have a notion, that *coid* or *quoit*, in our ancient English writers, was oftener spelt in, indiscriminately with a *c* or a *q*, than *quote*. Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, also specifies the verb to *quoit* to be both of the active and neuter kind; it will be readily admitted that the words with *speed* and *judgment* are completely adapted to the diversion of *coyting*, so styled in the stat. of 33 of Hen. VIII. It may be further remarked, that in the same speech the same metaphor is pursued by Polonius, when he acknowledges,

“ Beshrew my jealousy!

It seems, it is as proper to our age

To *cast* beyond ourselves in our opinions,

As it is common for the younger sort

To lack discretion.”

*Quoited* is undoubtedly a quaint expression, and therefore Shakespeare might with the greater propriety let it fall from the tongue of a conceited and pedantic old courtier. This conjecture is, however, thrown out by one who professes himself to be little skilled in the game of criticism; but if it falls short of the mark, it may be a direction to some expert player, and enable him with better speed and judgment to *quoit* the true meaning of the poet.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1776, Nov.

W. & D.

#### LXIII. On the Introduction of Letters into Greece.

MR. URBAN,

THE learned Dr. Chandler, in his account of his late travels, tells us, that the Greek alphabet, as imported by Cadmus from Phœnicia, consisted of sixteen letters; that Palamedes added four more, and Simonides the other four. Dr. Gregory Sharp, however, in his Origin and Structure of the Greek Tongue, gives a very different relation of this matter.

We are informed, says the Doctor, by Diodorus, the Sicilian, that it was the opinion of some persons that letters were invented by the Syrians, from whom the Phœnicians first learned their use, and then communicated them to the Greeks. Herodotus, declaring his own opinion, says, that the Phœnicians, under Cadmus, brought learning into Greece, and that the Greeks had not earlier the use of letters. This is contradicted by Diodorus, Pausanius, Zenobius, and others. Diodorus informs us, that Linus composed a book upon the acts of the first Dionysius, in Pelasgic characters; and that the same were used by Orpheus and by Pronepides, the preceptor of Homer. Zenobius says, that Cadmus slew Linus, for teaching characters differing from his; and Pausanias, in his Attics, assures us, that he himself saw an inscription upon the tomb of Coræbus, who lived at the time when Crotopus, who was contemporary with Deucalion, was king of the Argives. Letters, therefore, were in use long before the arrival of Cadmus. Letters were first introduced into Greece and Italy by the Pelasgi; they were afterwards subjected to some considerable alterations by Cadmus, and further still by the Ionians. The Africans, Spaniards, Celts, and Etrurians, as well as the inhabitants of Greece and Italy, all made use of Pelasgic or Phœnician letters. The Greeks, at first, had no more than sixteen: these, without the names of Alpha, Beta, &c. they received from the old Pelasgi. When Cadmus entered Greece, he gave them the names, and added to the old characters three more letters, Zeta, Eta, and Chi, and as many numeral characters, Bau, Sanpi, Koppa, all which are taken from the Phœnician alphabet, as is evident from their names, their shape, and place and power. These, with the Pelasgic characters, complete the Phœnician alphabet. Some other changes, also, it is probable, might have been made by Cadmus in the shape of some of the letters. That any of these characters were invented by Simonides or Palamedes, or any other Greek, is a fable that doth not deserve credit; since they were all exactly in their proper place, as in the Hebrew, Syriac, or Phœnician alphabet. The Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, added several letters to the Phœnician alphabet. The present Greek alphabet is the Ionic, having five letters added to the end of that which they received from the Pelasgi and Phœnicians.

Yours, &c.

1776, July.

S. WATSON,



LXIV. Origin of Old Nick.

MR. URBAN,

NOBODY has accounted for the Devil's having the name of *Old Nick*. Keysler de Dea Nehaleunia, p. 33, and Antiq. Septentr. p. 261, mentions a deity of the waters worshipped by the ancient Germans and Danes under the name of *Nocca* or *Nicken*, styled in the Edda *Nikur*, which he derives from the German *nugen*, answering to the Latin *necare*. Wormius, Mon. Dan. p. 17, says, the redness in the faces of drowned persons was ascribed to this deity's sucking their blood out at their nostrils. Wasthovius, pref. ad Vit. Sanctior. and Loccenius, Antiq. Sueco-Goth. p. 17, calls him *Neccur*, and quote, from a Belgo-Gallic Dictionary, *Neccer*, *Spiritus Aquaticus*, and *Necce*, *necare*. The Islandic Dict. in Hicks's Thes. P. III. p. 85, renders *Nikur*, *bellua aquatica*. Lastly, Rudbekius, Atlant. p. 1. c. 7. § 5. p. 192. and c. 30. p. 719. mentions a notion prevalent among his countrymen, that *Neckur*, who governed the sea, assumed the form of various animals, or of a horseman, or of a man in a boat. He supposes him the same with Odin; but the above authorities are sufficient to evince that he was the Northern Neptune, or some subordinate sea-god of a noxious disposition. Wormius queries whether a figure said to be seen, 1615, on the river Lan, and called *Wasser Nichts*, might not be of this kind. Probably it was a sea-monster of the species called *Mermen*, and by our Spenser, *Fairy-Queen*, II. 12. 24.

The griesly Wasserman.

It is not unlikely, but the name of this evil spirit might, as Christianity prevailed in these northern nations, be transferred to the father of evil.

If it would not be thought punning on names, I would hazard another conjecture. St. Nicholas was the patron of mariners, consequently opponent to *Nickur*. How he came by this office does not appear. The Legend says, "Ung jour que aucuns mariniers perissoient si le prierent ainsi a larmes, Nicolas, serviteur de Dieu, si les choses sont vrayes que nous avons ouyes, si les esprouve maintenant. Et tantot ung homme s'apparut a la semblance de luy, et leur dit, Veez moy, se ne m'appellez vous pas: et leur commenca a leur ayder en leur exploit: de la ne fet tantost la tempestate cessa. Et quant ils furent venus a son Eglise ilz

se cogneurent sans demonstrier, et si ne l'avoient oncques veu. Et lors rendirent graces a Dieu et a luy de leur delivrance; et il leur dit que ilz attribuassent a la misericorde de Dieu et a leur creance, et non pas a ses merites." Then follow other miracles, not peculiarly appropriated to him under this character. We have afterwards, indeed, another story of his delivering from an illusion of the Devil certain pilgrims *qui alloient a luy a nage*, which I understand to mean only *by wutter*. *Legende d'Or.* fol. viii. See also Blomefield's *Hist. of Norfolk*, II. p. 861.

1777, *March.*

PALÆOPHILUS.

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LXV. On the *Crasis*, a Grammatical Figure.

**CORRUPTIONS**, by means of the figure we call a *Crasis*, have had a great effect, I believe, in all languages; it is when the prefix adheres to the following word, which it often very easily and naturally does, in pronunciation, and afterwards is written or printed in that form. Thus the modern names of the city of Athens are *Satinas* and *Satines*, from *ἡ πόλις Ἀθῆναις*; and that of Constantinople, *Stamboul*, from *ἡ πόλις ὁ ἄγιος ὁ Σουλῆς*. Hence *ædepol*, *mehercule*, &c. of the Romans; and, perhaps, our word *endeavour*, and *rendezvous*, from the French *en devoir*, and *rendez-vous*. Some attention, however, is necessary in the case, and some distinction should be made, for the *Crasis* is not concerned in all words that coalesce together, as *otherwise*, *always*, &c. which ought rather to be called compounds; for I esteem it no *Crasis* unless there be such a mixture or coalition of letters in the word as to make the word to seem different from itself, and to be obscured or deformed by it. Thus *Birlady*, a form of swearing by the blessed Virgin, much used formerly, and sometimes now, is a manifest jumble and corruption of *By our Lady*.

It appears, from this short account of things, that vulgar, hasty, and inaccurate pronunciation has been the principal cause of this figure; which has been more applied in our language than, I presume; is commonly thought; and therefore I am in hopes that a regard had unto it, cannot fail of giving light unto the sense and etymology of very many of our English words. The figure has also operated very remarkably in some of our English surnames, as has been noted by our learned Camden, *Remains*, p. 122; we shall therefore insert these instances among the rest. I observe,

lastly, before I proceed on my Alphabet, that it is surprising how prone the country people of the north and midland parts of England are to the use of this grammatical figure, especially in respect of the article *The*, which in the shape of *T* or *Th* they will join to words which begin with a consonant, or with more than one; causing thereby much roughness and harshness, and even difficulty of pronunciation; *o'er th'bridge*, or *o'er th'brig*, as they speak it, for *over the bridge*.

Now, the prefixes, or other particles, which usually coalesce with the words they belong to, so as to alter or disguise them, are these: *A, An, Al, Ap, By, Di, De, Do, I, In, It, Mine, Ne, O, Saint, The, Two, Three*, and *To*. And these I propose to go through in their order.

*A. An Accomplice.* The monkish historians perpetually use the word *Complices* in Latin; and *Complice* itself, as an English word, occurs in *Weaver*, Fun. Monuments, p. 266, and see Johnson. So that I suspect a *Crisis* here, and that it was first a *Complice*, corrupted afterwards to *Accomplice*, which in that case would require the article *an* to be prefixed. The word *accomplice* might facilitate the corruption with unthinking people.

*AN. A Nayword.* This is a common expression for a by-word or proverb, and is probably a *Crisis* of an *Aye-Word*; that is, a word, or saying, *always* and perpetually used, agreeable to the ancient use of *Aye*. If this be not the meaning and original of it, it will be difficult to account for it.

*A Narrow*, id est, an arrow. See Mr. Hearne and Gul. Neubrig. p. lxxxv. lxxxvi. The prefix has here evidently grown and fastened itself to the noun.

*Jacke Napes*, which Skelton gives us, p. 160, seems to be *Jack an Apes*, as Littleton writes it; but I am doubtful about this, as *Nape* or *Knape* is the same as *Knave* or *Servant*. See Gloss. to Douglas's Virgil.

*A Nogler.* This is the name formerly given to those people who travelled the country with Sheffield wares; a practice now generally left off, insomuch that the name itself is falling into oblivion, as the original of the word has long since done. I take the etymon to be this: what we call an *higler*, was once written an *hagler*, and so you will find it in Dr. Fuller's Worthies, p. 278. Now, an *hagler* is very easily turned into a *nagler*, and with a open, a *nogler*. Dr. Johnson omits the *higler*, and describes the *hagler* as one that is tardy in bargaining, from to *haggle*.

But it seems the *higler* and the *hagler* is the same person, and so this sense of the latter word is omitted by him.

*A Newt.* An eft, or small lizard, of which newt is the common name in Derbyshire and Staffordshire; Plott, Hist. Staff. p. 244, 251; and it is used by Shakespeare's Macbeth, A. IV. Sc. 1. "*Newt*, says Dr. Johnson, is supposed by Skinner to be contracted from *an evet*," and it certainly is so. The Saxon word is *efete*; so that the gradation is an *efete*, an *evet*, a *nevet*, a *newt*, *v* consonant being turned into *u*, just as *v* in *Devil* is changed into *u* by those who pronounce it, as the vulgar often do, *Deul*.

*A Needle*, anciently written *a neld*, which perhaps may by *Crisis* be *an eld*, the same as *an else*, used by shoemakers.

*Nawl*, i. e. an awl, implement of the cobbler, used by Beaumont and Fletcher, VIII. p. 55.

*A Noddy*; quasi, by a *Crisis*, *an oddy*; a singular or whimsical person.

*A Nailbourn.* This word is both so written and pronounced in Kent, and answering to the *vipseys* or *gypsies* in Yorkshire, Camd. Col. 901, or Ray on the Deluge, p. 95. means a torrent which flows only now and then, or once in a few years. Now, when these torrents broke out, they were supposed to betoken famines, sicknesses, and deaths, chiefly I presume sicknesses; whence I conjecture there is a *Crisis* in the case, *a nailbourn* being in fact *an ailbourn*, as the forerunner of *ails* or diseases. It is written, however, *cylbourn* by Dr. Harris, p. 240, 23, 411, and so Philipot gives it, p. 42. which perhaps may be a corruption of *oilbourn*, but as these desultory torrents often abound with small eels, it is possible they might take their name from thence, quasi *eelbournes*. But there will still be a *Crisis* in *nailbourn*.

*At.* This particle coheres chiefly in such names of persons as are taken from situation; as,

*Tash*, which Mr. Camden thinks is contracted from *at Ash*. Remains, p. 123.

*Twells.* As we have the name of *Atwells*, or *Atwell*, one has certainly reason to think that *Twells* is a *Crisis* for *at Wells*.

*Ab* or *Ap.* We have certain names now in England, brought originally, I suppose, from Wales, in which the *ab* or *ap* is become a part of the name that followed it. At first they were patronymics, though they are not so now. Thus *Pugh* is *ap Hugh*; *Price* or *Brice*, *ap Rice*; *Pritchard*, *ap Richard*; *Prideaux*, *ap Rideaux*; *Bovan*, *ap Ewan*; *Bawen*, *ap Owen*; *Bowel*, *ap Hoel*.

BY. *Bilive*, i. e. *by le Eve*; sometimes written *blive* and *blyve*. Gloss. to Chaucer, v. *Blive*.

DI. *Didapper*, the bird, quasi *Dive-Dapper*; which is confirmed by its being called *Dab-Chick* in Kent.

DO. *Don* and *doff*, i. e. to *do on*, and *do off*. See Johnson in *Vocibus*.

DE. In names of persons drawn from the places of their abode, or extraction, the French particle *De* will often coalesce with the name of the place, if it begin with a vowel. *Danvers*, *de* or *d'Anvers*; *Daeth*, *de* or *d'Aeth*, a town in Hainault; *Dashwood* may be supposed to be *de* or *d'Ashwood*; *Davill*, *d'Eivill*; Camden, *Remains*, p. 122; *Doily*, *de Oily*, *ibid.* p. 111; *Dauney*, *ibid.* p. 122. *Aunay* is a plot of ground where alders grow; and, to name no more, *Devereux* is undoubtedly *d'Evereux*.

ECHE or EACH. Hence *every chonc*, Skelton, p. 192, i. e. *every each one*; which we have now contracted to *every one*.

I. This pronoun easily coalesces, as *I'm*, *I'll*, *I'd*, i. e. *I would*. Percy's Songs, p. 81. *Ychulle*, Percy, III. p. xvii. i. e. *I shall, ye shall*.

IN. *Ith* for *in the*; hence *yth*, Percy, I. p. 6.

IT. Hence *'tis*.

MINE. *My neam*, *my nont*; *nuncle*, *nont*. These words are used familiarly in the north by young people to the elder sort, though there be no alliance or relation between them. *Eame* is the Saxon for *uncle*, and the possessive pronoun *mine* has grown to it. The second is from *mine aunt* in like manner, as likewise *nuncle* (see Shakespeare, *Lear* I. sc. 4.) and *nont*.

NE. This old negative very readily coincided with words beginning with a vowel or a *w*.

*Nis* and *nys*, i. e. *ne is*, or *is not*; Skelton, p. 62. *Nil*, for *ne will*; *nilt*, *ne wilt*: Fairfax, Chaucer. Hence *will* or *nil*, *Invective* against Wolsey. So *nil'd* for *ne would*: *Mirroure of Magistrates*, p. 487.

*N'ot*, and *nolt*, for *ne wot*, or *know not*, written in Machabree, folio 220, *note*. *Nolt* occurs in Fairfax, xviii. 50.

*None* is either *ne one* or *no one*.

*Nere*, i. e. *ne were*: Fairfax, xii. 81.

*Nould*, *ne would*: Fairfax, v. 47; x. 61; *alibi*.

*Nought*, *ne ought*; written also formerly *noght*.

*Nam*, *neam*; *nurt*, *neart*; *nad*, *ne had*; *nist*, *ne wist*: all in Chaucer.

O. *Ho*! I take to mean, *O ye*!

OF. *O'th*, i. e. *of the*. Hence *ath the*, Percy, i. p. 6.

where *the* abounds by the mistake of the copyist; for p. 9. you have *athe*, for *of the*, twice.

**SAINT.** This word, prefixed to the names of certain holy men, or reputed to be so, either adhered, by means of its last letter *T*, to the name of such saint, or the whole of it was joined to it; especially in certain of our surnames borrowed from the names of saints. I shall specify, first, some cases where the last letter only adheres, which mostly happens where the name begins with a vowel. Thus the French *S. Agnan*, or *Aignan*, was pronounced by some in France *S. Tignan*: *H. Steph.* Apolog. pour Herodote, iii. p. 242, Edit. 1735.

*A Tantony pig*; so written in Drake's Eborac. p. 315, meaning a pig of St. Anthony.

*Tawdery*, i. e. *St. Audrey*; "a term borrowed from those times when they tricked and bedecked the shrines and altars of the saints, as being at vye with each other on that occasion. The votaries of St. Audrey (an isle of Ely saint) exceeding all the rest in the dress and equipage of her altar, It grew into a byword upon any thing that was very gaudy, *that it was all tawdry*, as much as to say, all St. Audrey:" Canting Dict. v. Taudry.

*Talkmund.* *St. Alkmund's* church at Derby is commonly called *Talkmund*.

*San Telme.* The meteor called *St. Elmo* in Ulloa, ii. p. 350, is written *San Telmo*.

*S. Tathan*, *St. Athan* or *Aithan*. Memorial of Brit. Piety, Append. p. 40.

*S. Twinnel*, i. e. *St. Winnol*. Ibid. p. 48.

*Tooley-street*, *Tooley-bridge*, *Tooley-corner*, all in Southwark, from *St. Olave*, pronounced *Olye*, as Camden gives it: Remains, p. 123.

*St. Tooses.* *St. Osithe's*, written *St. Tooses* in Bailey's Life of Bishop Fisher, p. 88. Mr. Camden observes, that *St. Osyth* is turned into *Saint Tows*: Remains, ibid.

*St. Tabbe.* *St. Ebba* was the famous prioress of *Coldingham*, who chose to deform herself, with her nuns, rather than be abused by the insolent Danes. See Camden, Remains, l. c. also Fuller, Worthies in Rutland.

*St. Thetha*, or *St. Teath.* *St. Eltha* was a Cornish Saint.

*St. Tomer.* This name we have in Camden's Remains, p. 151, for *St. Omer*, or *de Sto Awdouara*.

*St. Tole.* *St. Aldate's* church, or *St. Old's* at Oxford, is vulgarly called *St. Tole's*. Pointer, Oxon. Aëad. p. 109.

*Town.* This surname, I imagine, may be corrupted of *St. Owen*, who occurs in Camden, p. 151.

I come now to those instances where the whole substance as it were, of the word *Saint* is incorporated with the name, as is evident from many of our surnames taken from the names of saints. The French *San*, as in *Sampol*, *Sammarthanus*, &c. coheres thus in their language.

*Samond*: i. e. *St. Amand*, or *de Sto. Amando*.

*Simbeſd*. *St. Barbe*, or *de Sta. Barbara*. Camden, p. 150.

*Sinclair*. *De Sta. Clara*, or *de Sto. Clara*. as *Newcourt*, in *Reperit*. i. p. 224. But q. if this be not an error?

*Saulis*, *Senliz*, *Singlis*. These are, *St. Lis*, or *de Sto. Lisis*, or *Sylvanectensis*, for which see Camden, p. 150.

*Sentlo*. *St. Lo*, or *de Sto. Laudo*. Camden, p. 151.

*Sentlow*. This is different from the former, being interpreted *de Sancto Lupo*. Camden. *ibid*. *Lupus* is the name of a saint.

*Sellinger*. So they commonly pronounce this name; whereas the orthography is *St. Leger*, i. e. *de Sto. Leodegario*. Camden, p. 156.

*Semarton*, *St. Martin*, or *de Sto. Martino*. Camden, p. 151.

*Semarc*. *St. Medard*. Camden, p. 150. But one would rather think *St. Marc*.

*Seimple*. *Sampol*. The first is the Scotch name, the second the French; both are *St. Paul*.

*Seimpere*, *Sampier*, or *Sempere*. *St. Peter*, or *de Sto. Petro*.

*Semour*. *De Sto. Mauro*.

*THE*. *Bythene*, i. e. *by the even*, or *by night*. Romance of *Amy* and *Amylion*.

*To thende*. *To the ende*. Caxton, *Mirroure*, cap. 5.

*Taylot*. Gloucestershire word; meaning an *hay-loft*. At first, no doubt, they said *in taylot*, for *in the hay-loft*; and then converted the whole into a substantive, calling a *hay-loft* by that name.

*Tuffold*, or *Tovel*. This means an *hovel* in Derbyshire, where they first said *in tovel*, i. e. *in the hovel*; and then, by mistake, took *tovel* to be the substantive, for *hovel*.

*Ton* and *Tother*: as, *do you take ton*, and *I'll take tother*; meaning *the one* and *the other*. *The ton*, Percy, i. p. 7. where either *the* or *t* abounds; and yet this is very commonly used, as is *the tother*, for which see Percy, p. 58.

*Tierne cross*, in Somner's *Antiq. of Canterb.* p. 11, 169; is the iron cross.

*Nathless*. *Not the less*. See Dr. Johnson.

*To*. By cutting off the *o*, this sign glues itself to many verbs in Caxton, and other authors; as *tabound*, *tacconplish*, *tarrette it*, i. e. to impute it; *tuffer*; *talledge hungre* and *thurste*, Caxton, in *Mirroure*, cap. 5, is to allay them.

**TWO.** This numeral will sometimes cohere with a noun, as *twinter*, a calf two winters or two years old. Derbyshire.

**Tovet.** This, in Kent, means two pecks, and consequently is a coalition of *two fat* or *vat*.

**A Twibill.** This is an implement that cuts both ways; and as *two* is pronounced often *twa*, hence you have *twa-bill*, or *twi-bill*.

**THREE.** A *Trivet* is an household implement of iron with three feet to stand before the fire, for the purpose of setting any thing upon to dry or warm, and takes its name from the said *three feet*. See Tanner, Biblioth. in Nic. Trivet.

**TOOT.** This word means to *peep*, or *peep out*. When peas in Derbyshire first appear, they are said to *toot*, i. e. to *out*; and hence they have the participle *tooting*. Thus, I conceive that *tooting* at Tunbridge-wells means to *out*, in the way of inviting and bringing guests to their master's house.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

**TRIMON.** In the anonymous metrical history of the battle of Flodden-field, lately published, it is observed, p. 32, that St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. Andrew, never taught the Scottish prelates to go to war, but rather some later Popish saints, Trimon of Quhytehorn, or Doffin of Ross; where, as St. Niman was the great saint at Candida Casa, or Whitehern, the editor says, we should read *Ninian of Quhytehorn*. An emendation is undoubtedly necessary; this, however, is not a happy one. The Scots, it seems, call *Ninian, Ringen*, (see Memorial of Brit. Piety, p. 131.) whence I conjecture there is a Crisis here, and that the true correction is *Tringen*. If this be the truth, as I presume it is, it affords a pregnant instance of the usefulness of attending to the effects of the Crisis: but, indeed, of this, in point of etymology, we have seen many examples above.

**SMERWICK.** There is something particular in this, as the first letter, instead of the last, in *Saint*, coalesces; for it means *St. Marywick* in the county of Kerry, in Ireland. Campbell, Lives of Adm. ii. p. 49.

1777, July, Aug.



LXVI. On the Word *ORMESTA*.

MR. URBAN,

MUCH has been both said and written about that barbarous word *Ormesta*, or *Hormesta*, which appears in the title of Paulus Orosius's History, in some MSS. at least. See Prof. Havercamp's Pref. to his noble edition of it; and the Hon. Mr. Barrington's Pref. to King Alfred's Saxon Version thereof. The former of these gentlemen, a professed critic, after exploding Vossius's emendation of *Orchestra*, which, indeed, has been generally disapproved, thinks it may be a corruption of *de miseria mundi*; and the conjecture, it must be allowed, agrees perfectly well with the subject of the author's performance. With your leave, I will here transcribe his own words.

"Quum enim in quibusdam exemplaribus *de ormesia mundi* scriptum inveniatur, id nihil aliud esse existimo quam corruptum ex verbis *de miseria mundi*, et hunc verum esse titulum; quoniam ad illum toto suo opere adludit auctor, qui nullam aliam ob causam septem hos libros, hortatu Augustini, conscripsit, nisi ut ostenderet\* miseriam mundi una cum peccato esse natam, neque cum Christiana religione in Imperium Romanum introisse, sed ab antiquissimis temporibus per universum terrarum orbem viguisse, neque unquam in Imperio Romano, quum vel maxime floreret, defuisse."

But now, Sir, I do not see how, in this case, you can get the first syllable *Or*, or *Hor*; nor how *Ormesta*, or *Hormesta*; or, if you will, the corrupted word *Ormesia*, which is just as uncouth as the others; can possibly come from *de miseria*, as this learned man contends. Discarding, therefore, this conjecture as insufficient, what if we should read *Or. mesta*, and suppose it to be an abbreviation of *Orbis Mestitia*? This answers equally as well to the argument of the work, and approaches much nearer to the letters in *Ormesta*. They wrote in these times, the single *e* for the diphthongs, and if but in one ancient manuscript it was thus once written *in short*, the rest, transcribed and copied from it, might readily, and by an easy mistake, convert it into one word, *Ormesta*. I know not how gentlemen will relish this

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\* Lib. I. cap. i. p. 6. Ego initium miseriæ hominum ab initio peccantis hominis ducere institui, &c.

conjecture; but it appears plausible to me; and if at last I shall be thought to have miscarried in it, I have this comfort left, that I have erred with others, and in a matter of some difficulty.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

1778, Nov.

T. Row.

LXVII. Sameness of certain dissimilar Words.

MR. URBAN,

THE radical words of our language are not so numerous as, I apprehend, they are commonly thought. They have often an appearance seemingly different, when, in fact, they are originally the same\*; thus, to *knit*, *knot*, and *net*, are all from the Saxon *cnyttan*, whence we have *knitting the nets* in Mr. Lewis's Hist. of the Isle of Thanet, p. 135. Terms and expressions have been sometimes varied for precision, as in the instance here given, where all the terms imply *tying*, and yet each expresses a particular mode of doing it; and such variations as these one cannot but approve, and for that very reason, viz. because they serve for the purpose of accuracy and precision. Sometimes, again, our words are altered from less material causes, inaccuracy, mispronunciation, locality, as also by curtailing, lengthening, contracting, &c. *Null*, *annull*, *disannull*, are doubtless, all the same; so *herit* and *inherit*, to *minster* and *administer*, &c. It may be entertaining, however, even in such cases, to observe the present compass and *copia* of our maternal tongue; and in others it may be useful, in order to understand rightly the true force and energy of some of our terms. I propose, therefore, to give a short alphabet of words, dissimilar in *shew*, but in reality the same as to their origin; and if I happen to explain but one term to the satisfaction of your readers, I shall be pleased: and after this declaration I ought in all reason to be intitled to their candour and indulgence in other instances, where they may think I have either miscarried or been guilty of omissions.

*Te assay*, and *an essay*. The last is the French *essai*; and the first, used for the trying of metals, is as apparently the French verb *essayer*.

\* See Gloss. to Douglas's Virgil, v. Rowit.

To *allay* and *alloy*. The substantive *alloy* is a baser metal mixed with a richer, so as to abate the value of it; and to *allay* is to abate, correct, diminish; both from the French *allier*, to mix; an *ally*, the French *allie*, may be supposed to come from the same idea of tying, matching, mixing.

Alexander, Saunders, Sanders, Sawney, Sandy. These are all the same, the four latter being the hypocoristical or familiar names used for the first. But perhaps Saunders and Sanders may mean Saunder-son and Sander-son; see Harris, below. I give this specimen of the variation of names, but do not propose in the sequel to give many examples of this sort, (though perhaps one or two may be inserted,) as that would be tedious and superfluous.

Amaze, as *it amazes me, I am amazed*. A maze is a labyrinth, and, metaphorically, a perplexity. The verb comes apparently from the noun, and is a compound, a-mazed; just as we say a-hungred, a-thirst. In strictness there is no such substantive as amaze; but when it is said *I am in amaze*, it ought rather to be written *I am in a maze*.

Astoin, astound, astone, stun. *Astoned* is astonished, in Erudition of Christian Man, p. 198. *Astoin'd* occurs in Capel's Prolusions, p. 10, where the edition of 1609 has *aston'd*; and Capel conjectures *astoun'd*. P. 11. we have *stoin'd*, which methinks shews that *astoin'd* may be right. However, it is plain that *stun* or *stunn'd* is the same word abbreviated, unless you will adduce it from *astound*, i. e. astonished. Fairfax, ix. 23, xiv. 66. Either of these is more natural than to derive it as Dr. Wallis does, from *extonitus*, *attonitus*.

Atone. I much doubt whether there was anciently any such word; for, as *to atone* is to reconcile, Shakespeare's Othello IV. 1, it means to *at one them*, or *make them one*. It answers to *unite*: see Junius, and Hanmer's Glossary. Old Plays, Vol. iv. p. 140. Carew, p. 142. Acts vii. 26.

An Adept. V. a Dab.

Brown, the colour; bran, *furfur*. As *bran* is the brown part of the corn when ground, I conceive it to be so called from its colour, and consequently that these are the same words.

A Band, a string; also an ornament of the neck. A bond, an obligatory writing. These all come from the verb *to bind*, and consequently are the same words. It is remarkable, that, in the Peak of Derbyshire, a *band*, in the sense of a string, is vulgarly pronounced *bond* or *bont*. V. Tend.

*Bodice* from *Bodies*, says Dr. Johnson. Thus it takes its name from the part it is applied to, and is the same word

with body; just as a *neck* or sham shirt takes its name from being worn on the neck, and as a *head* is used for a *head-dress*.

Beseech. V. Seek.

Bellow. V. Low.

Bliss, which means happiness, is no other than *bless*, as is plain from *blissed* being used for *blessed*; so *blyssed* is *blessed*. Legend of St. Erasmus. *Blissedhede*, blessedness. Hampole. See Ames' Typ. Ant. p. 14, 15, Percy's Songs, I. p. 288.

Cloth and clout. A clout is only a piece of cloth, pronounced *clôth* in Yorkshire.

Cloth and clothes. As the last were commonly made of the first, it cannot be doubted but they are the same word.

Chattel and cattle. As *catalla* with the old lawyers and monkish historians signifies all goods moveable and immoveable, these are plainly the same word. Indeed, chattel is only the foreign pronunciation of C, just as of cancelli and cancellarius we have chancel and chancellor. V. Cant.

Chanon, Canal.

To *convoy*, to escort or conduct; to *convey*, to remove. The first has arisen from the latter. *Convey* means *convoy* in Life of Duke of Newcastle, p. 88.

A Cripple and Creeple. Dr. Donne writes *criple*, *creeple*, which we find also in Field's Bible, as if it came from to *creepe*, and that we ought to deem them the same words.

Cozen and Cousin. The first signifies now to cheat, by pretending, as it were, to be your friend and relation. Lylie, in his Euphues, p. 181, has "to make a cozen of a person," i. e. a dupe. Many still write *cozen* for *cousin*, or *consanguineus*.

Cud and Quid. The cow chews her *cud*, and the man, when he chews tobacco, calls it *quidding*; so that there seems to be no difference but in pronunciation.

Collogue and Colleague. To *collogue*, in Dr. Johnson, means to wheedle, to flatter; but it also signifies to conspire with others to defraud a person: and as a *colleague* is the same as the Latin *collega*, to *collogue* may seem to come from this.

Coarse and Course. Coarse is written *course*, Fuller, Worth. p. 82; and see Mr. Hearne's Cur. Disc. p. 126; so that it seems to mean a thing *of course*, common to be met with, or ordinary.

Common and Commune. To *commune*, in the sense of conferring, occurs often in the Bible; Sir Thomas More, p. iii. has *to comen*, for the same; and Hall often, in his Chronicle, *to common*, i. e. to discourse in common. Hence you have *communely* for *commonly*, in Tanner's Bibl. 583;

and Skelton, p. 151, calls *common pleas*, commune place: and indeed this is correct from *communis*; and one does not wonder to see communalty, and communalte, and communalte, in old authors.

Canon and Cannon. The engines of death called *cannons* are of different sizes and bores. The proper cannon, I presume, is a 48 pounder, and is so named from its being made according to that *canon* or standard. Whence canon and cannon appear to be the same words.

Cant and Chant. Both from the Latin *cantus*, cant being a whining tone used by the Puritans, and to *chant* having only the *c* softened, as is plain from descant; so from *cantaria* comes chantry; and we have both enchantment and incantation. V. Chattel, above.

Cord and Chord. *Chord*, from Latin *chorda*, is the string of a musical instrument, and a *cord* is any band or string; both evidently the same.

Chanon and Canon, *Canonici*; so called because they lived under or according to a certain rule or *canon*. Chanons were a stricter sort of canons, *regulars* as they were styled, and that is the whole difference. V. Chattel, above.

Canal, Channel, Kennel. From Latin *canalis* the French have *canal*, which we have adopted; the two latter are the effects of pronunciation. As to *c* soft, we have chaste from *castus*, cheese from *caseus*, &c. V. Chattel, above.

Draw and Drain. As in the north they say *dra* for *draw*, one can hardly doubt the sameness of these two words.

To dally, and to delay. Since to dally means to trifle, and consequently to delay, one has grounds to suspect both are the French *deleyer*, and have no other difference but what arises from pronunciation.

A Dab and Adept. The first, which signifies a person expert in any thing, is evidently a corruption of the second.

Dike and Ditch. The first is provincial for the second; whence a small brook in the north is called a *dike*, and there are twenty instances in those parts of *ch* or *tch* being turned into *k* or *ck*. V. Powch, [below,] and Stink, and Stark, and Seek. *Dig* is probably the root.

Defile and Defowl. They both mean to deflower a virgin. Hence *undefowled*, Caxton, Legend. fol. 338. So that *file*, whence *filth*, is the same with *foul*.

Estate and Estade; both from *etat* of the French, who now have dropped the *s*.

To fell wood or timber, i. e. to *fall* it, since they call it commonly a *fall of timber*. So that to *fell* and to *fall* are the same.

To flea and flay. To flea is to strip off the skin, whence *fleece*; and to flay is the same, as appears from the Bible.

Flour, simila; Flower, flos. There is no difference in these, though it may be proper to vary them in writing, as flour is the flower or best part of the corn. In Fabian, fol. xviii. 6. *flower* is written *floure*.

Fusty, Foisty, and Fist. Two first are found in Dr. Johnson, and *fist* is in Littleton; all come from French *fuste*.

Fraughted, Freightened, Fraught. The first, which occurs in Finett, p. 238, is plainly the same as the second; and the third is as evidently contracted from the first.

Gate and Gait. Gate comes from the Dutch *get*, or Saxon *geat*, *get*, *gate*, and signifies an entrance, road, town, street, manner of walking, &c. and thence, very naturally, the air, mien, or port, of a person; the *incessus*, as Virgil terms it. But now some affect to write *gait* in this latter sense, as Shakespeare and others; by which means *gait* has gotten into Dr. Johnson's Dictionary. I am of opinion, however, that there is no difference between *gate* and *gait*, or, in other words, that there is really no such word as *gait*. In Milton, I am sure, *gate* has the sense of air or mien in several places, as iv. 370. vii. 411. ix. 389. xi. 230. In short, *gate*, amongst its other uses, signifies a person's manner; and Hampole, MS. at Lincoln, p. 176, applies it for *guise* or *manner*, when he says *thus gates*, for *on this manner*. So Chaucer also uses it; see the Glossary. It is worth noting, that the Dutch and Saxon, whence we have our *gate*, know nothing of any such orthography as *gait*.

Guard and Ward. First is the French orthography, second the English; and both modes have been followed, the former having been appropriated to some purposes, as the latter has to others; but they are apparently the self-same words.

Guise, Wise, Ous. First is the French form, second the English; for wise is the same in sense as *otherwise*, *leastwise*, &c. as the French *guise*. As to *ous*, the termination in *righteous*, it is a mere corruption of *wise*; for in Hall, Richard III. folio 26, you have *rightwise*; and in the Dance of Machabree, fol. 222 and 225, *rightwisness*: and so *Erudition of a Christian Man*, p. 15. Caxton, *Mirroure*, cap. 9. and III. cap. 12. *Rightwessly* occurs also in Gunton, p. 52.

Great, magnus; Groat, four-pence; grotes, oats when the outer hull is taken off: these are all the same. There can

ellipsis in *groat*, penny being understood: the whole would be *great-penny*. *Grotes* means plainly great meal, in respect of the smaller or ground meal; in the north they are pronounced *greats* or *grates*, which shews the etymon clearly.

To hunt and to haunt. *To hunt about* is so near a kin to *haunting a place*, that one has reason to esteem them the same.

Harris and Harrison. As John Harris is no other than John Harry's, an elliptical manner of speaking for *John Harry's* son, the two names Harris and Harrison are consequently the same; as also are Williams and Williamson, Roberts and Robertson, &c.

John, Johannes; Jone, Johanna. As these are the same names, one masculine, the other feminine, the *o* ought to be long in both, and *h* to be inserted or omitted in both, and the *e* in the woman's name should be retained to denote the sex. St. John's is pronounced at London St. Jones's, and in Lancashire they currently say Jone for John.

Jane and Joane. Mr. Camden, in *Remains*, p. 98, says, that 32 Eliz. it was agreed by the Court of King's Bench, that *Jane* was the same as *Joane*.

Kill, quell, and quail. All the words are found in an active sense in Dr. Johnson and Littleton; but they are clearly the same, *kill* being the modernization of *quell*, by adopting the French pronunciation of *qu*, and consequently very justly deduced by Dr. Johnson from the Saxon *cwellan*. Indeed, at this time, to *quell* does not seem to imply, in our ideas, so much as *kill*, but formerly it did. Macbeth I. 7. Obs. on Macbeth, p. 24. Camden's *Remains*, p. 65. *Man-queller* is a ruffian, a bravo, an assassin, Speed, Hist. p. 300. *Erudition of Christian Man*, p. 148.—Quail is not only used actively, but the sense of it accords well with our modern notion of *to quell*, and Dr. Johnson gives it accordingly the same etymology.

Knit, knot, net. See the proeme.

Knap, knop, knob, nab, nob. All these, which signify protuberances, as also a small mount, come from British *cnap*, and must be reputed the same.

Kind and akin. As *akin* means of the same race or *kind*, one is led to imagine that *kin* and *kind* may be the same word, the *i* in one case being pronounced short, and in the other long, just as some say wynd, and others wind.

Latter, later; last, latest. The two first are comparatives of *late*, and the two last, superlatives of the same; therefore there is no other difference than what use and custom have

*Lest* and *least*. Here again is a variation without a difference; for if *lest* be now used for the Latin particle, *ne*, *least* was formerly as often used; and so, if it may be rendered by *quo minus*, the English *least* seems to answer the more fully to this. I take *least* to be a corruption of *lest*, this being a more natural superlative of *little*, and best corresponding with the Saxon *lest*.

*Lust* and *list*. As *to lust* sometimes occurs in a good sense, I have no doubt these are the same words.

*Links*, *lings*, and *ings*. Grounds in some places called *lings* and *ings* are in others named *links*, by a quick or thin pronunciation of *g*. Vid. *Rank* below. *Lings* perhaps may be the same again as *Les inges*, the word *inge* occurring in Dr. Johnson, as also in Dr. Thornton and Mr. Thoresby.

*Leash* and *lashed*. A *leash* is a band or string, particularly a leather thong, by which a falconer holds his hawk, and a courser leads his greyhound. *Lashed*, therefore, when one thing is bound and fastened to another by tying, may be *leashed*. A *leash of greyhounds* are, again, as many as are commonly led by one string, viz. three; and from thence a *leash* comes to signify that number either of birds or animals.

*To low* and *bellow*. Spoken of cows. *Be* in the latter is only an unmeaning Saxon prefix.

*Manquell*, *mangle*. The first not only means to *murder*, (see *kill* above,) but also, as appears from Hall, Edw. IV. fol. 221, b. to *mangle*, whence I have a suspicion that *mangle* is in fact the same word.

*Moan*, *mourn*. These are so near akin both in sense and sound, that I greatly suspect them to be the same words, varying only in pronunciation.

*A mass* and *a mess*. A *masse* from French *masse*, is a heap or pile of any thing; and a *mess* of victuals or pottage is as much as is collected together for one or more persons. When people swear *by the mass*, they commonly say *by mess*.

*Many* and *meiny*. The latter denotes a company, a retinue; and *many* is a substantive in Lowth's Gram. p. 26. Are they not the same?

*Mow*, *mouth*. To make *mows*, and to make *mouths*, are equivalent; so that *mow* and *mouth* are the same. I have often seen Portsmouth written *Portsmue*. Indeed, the French word *mouë* signifies mouth; and they have the phrase *faire la mouë*.

*Mount* and *Mound* are apparently the same.

*Near* and *nigher*. *Nigh* was formerly written *neigh* or *negh*, whence we have *neighbour*. Hence came the compa-



parative *negher* contracted to *near*. Near and nigher are therefore clearly the same; and so when we say *neurer*, it is really a comparison compared, and as much a solecism, though so common, as *worser*. That *near* is a comparative appears from the expressions *never the near*, and *never and nere*, the first in Sir Thomas More, p. iv. 2d in Dr. Percy's Songs, p. 88.

Not, nought. The last is *ne ought* by crasis, and was anciently written *noght*, of which we have made *not*.

Of and Off. We now write this particle sometimes *off*, but I suppose it is always the Latin, *a*, *de*, or *ex*, i. e. *of*, and that it is every way as proper to say *cut of*, *excisus*, as *cut off*. Math. x. 14. "Shake off the dust of your feet," Gr. *ἐκλινάξατε τοὺς ποσὶν ὑμῶν*; where the preposition *εκ* or *of* is evidently in composition. The Vulgate, whence Wickliffe's version was made, has "*excutite pulverem de pedibus vestris*," which Wickliffe renders *sprenge off*, whereas, Cranmer's Bible gives it, *shake off*, and so the Rhemish Testament.

Owe, own, cught. As *owe* is used for *own*, i. e. to claim, Acts xxi. 11. Johnson, Obs. on Shakespeare, Macbeth, &c. we can be sure they are the same words. *Ought* comes from *owe*-too, but from a different sense of it, viz. *debere*.

A *pound* for cattle, whence hog's-pound; a *pond*, a stew-pan. These appear to be all the same, *pound* and *pond*, coming from to pin, or inclose. When people say a *stew-pan*, meaning a smaller kind of pond, it is evidently a corruption of stew-pond.

A person, a particular man or woman; a parson, a parish-priest. These are clearly the same, though the latter is appropriated to the clergy, as is evident from the Latin word used on the occasion, viz. *Persona*, i. e. *Persona Ecclesiæ*. Thomas More, in his Life of Richard III. writes *person* for *parson* often: and the Scotch name is Macpherson.

Part and party. These are the same, notwithstanding the different orthography; for, whereas the lawyers now say, *between A. B. on one part, and between C. D. on the other part*, indentures of the age of James I. and later, generally run, "between A. B. on one partie, and between C. D. on the other partie." King Henry VIII. in Fuller's Worth. p. 198, says, *parties of beyond the sea*, for parts beyond the sea. In Hall, Edward V. fol. iv. 6. *north parties* means north parts, and so, fol. 6. b. On the other hand, in the Scotch phrase, *art and part*, *part* seems to mean *party*; and I presume there are few cases wherein these words may not be

Peck and pick. They say in Kent, speaking of a fowl, *it picks*, which shews these words to be the same. Hence pick-axe.

Pity and piety. As our word *pity*, in the sense of charity and compassion, comes from the Latin *pietas*, this and *piety* must be the same. Charity is indeed an act of piety, and certain charitable funds abroad are actually termed *mounts of piety*. *Pittance*, again, which is a charitable addition to the convent's table, is *pietancia* in Latin.

Puny, puisney, pony. Puny is small or diminutive, from French *puisné*, a word retained in the same form when we write *puisné judge*. I am much mistaken if *pony*, by which we mean a *small horse*, be not a slight corruption of the same by changing the vowel.

Pilarean, i. e. pelerin, and pilgrim. The first is the French term, the second the English.

Poison and potion. As *poison* is the Latin *potio*, though we have gotten it more immediately from the French, poison and potion must be the same words. It is not uncommon for a general word to become specific.

Powch and poke. Glos. ad X. Scriptores, v. Powchius, and see *Dike* above.

Quell. Vide Kill.

Quail. Vide Kill.

To quit, to relinquish; quiet, at rest. No difference here; to quit claim, is *quietum clamare*; and to acquit, *acquietare*, is to make a person quiet or at ease, in respect of any demand you may have upon him.

Queen, regina; Quean, a whore, a wheen-cat, a female cat, in the north. Mr. Ray, explaining the last word, observes, "that *queen* was used by the Saxons to signify the female sex, appears in that *queen fugol* was used for a hen fowl." North country Words, p. 53. Thus, as queen means a female, it has been abusively applied to a whore, as wench also has; for I make no doubt but *queen* and *quean* are the same words. *Given*, in British, the feminine of guynn, means *fair* or *beautiful*.

Quail, qualm, qualmish, squeamish. The last word appears only in the form of an adjective, and seems to be the same as *qualmish*, by a corrupt pronunciation: this plainly comes from *qualm*, as this probably derives from the verb *to quail*, for which see above in *kill*.

Rank and range. These, whether substantives or verbs, appear to be the same words, varied in speech and pronunciation. Vide Links, *above*.

*Ravish* is *ravage* in the book of psalms.

Rops, ropes. *Rops* are so called from their length and similitude to ropes, as is plain from our calling the guts of Woodcocks and Snipes *ropes*.

Robert, Rotbert, and Rupert, are the same names. Wood's Hist. and Ant. p. 81; Tanner's Bibl. p. 345; Thoresby, p. 350.

Rodolph, Radulph, Randolph, Ranulph, Ralph. These, I presume, are all the same. In Wood, Hist. Ant. p. 72, Coleberg is called Rodolphus, and p. 85, Radulphus.

Rohais, in Lat. Robesia; Hawise, in Lat. Hawisia; Avise or Avice, in Lat. Avicia; appear to be the same name. Hawise and Avise being only the latter syllable of the first name, used in the way of familiarity or endearment. Thus we now say *Mun* for Edmund, *Than* for Jonathan.

Ramp, romp, rawm. A lion is *rampant* when reared as if going to fight; and *to romp*, is to play rudely and boisterously. A wall is said to *ramp*, when it rises from the level, and is the French *ramper*, to climb or mount. Hence also *to rawm*, which a dog is said to do when he either fawns upon you, or stretches himself to take victuals placed high on a shelf.

Rout and rut. In *rutting* time, bucks keep a continual *routing* or bellowing, whence it is obvious to imagine the two words to be the same.

Rout, road, rota, rut. *Rout* is *road*, and *road* is *rout*: so that these are plainly the same words. *By rote* means by course, in a direct road, as when a thing is gotten by heart, without knowing or understanding the meaning of it; and therefore seems to signify *by road*, or *by rout*. *Rut*, at first, I imagine, was *cart-rut*, i. e. rout or track, and afterwards *rut*, *per se*.

Roll and row; to roll and to row. A *roll* is in fact a *row*, and is sometimes pronounced *row*, whence we have both *rigmanroll* and *rigmanrow*. As *to roll*, and *to row*; the *l* and *ll* are very commonly omitted in pronunciation in the north. See Glossary to Douglas's Virgil, v. Rowit, where, however, the author is mistaken in talking of *w* and *ll* being alike in the MS. as pronunciation is the sole cause.

Rattle and ruttle. Rattle is that noise people make in the throat when they breathe with difficulty, especially when *crying*; and I take it to be the same word with *rattle*. In Birch's Life of Prince Henry, p. 355, it is called *rattling*.

Reeme and rime. The first signifies to weep in Cheshire; the second is the name of the white frost, in Kent, that adheres to the trees (in Derbyshire called *Ime*); query, therefore, if not the same word?

A set of horses, china, &c. A suit of clothes, armour, &c. I regard these as the same word, and both from French *suite*. This seems to be apparent from the orthography of the latter, and the former may be a corruption of it.

To split, to splint or splinter. These I conceive to be the same, since, in the Life of the Duke of Newcastle, to *splint* means to *split*.

Souce and sauce. As the first is a kind of pickle, it may be thought a species of the latter.

A shed, a covered place. A shade, the same. The first seems to be only a short or quick pronunciation of the latter.

To swill, to swallow. As the first means to drink lustily, it appears to be a cant-word for swallow.

Set and sit. The first is a verb active, the second a verb neuter; but I esteem them the same originally, though I approve of the present mode of differencing them. In Romance of St. Degaré, verse 679, *sett* means *sit*.

He sett hym down on the Deyse.

Seek and beseech. *Be* is often an unmeaning prefix in our language, as it was in the Saxon. These words are otherwise the same, as is plain from the imperfect tenses *sought* and *besought*. *Ch* and *k* are perpetually substituted one for another; and it is remarkable that *seek*, in Lancashire, is pronounced *seech*. Vide Dike *above*.

Sleight and slight. First is a substantive, the second an adjective. Harsnet against Darrel, p. 127, has *sleight*; in Dodsley's Plays, V. p. 223, to *sleighten*, is to despise; and Ephes. IV. 14. *sleight* is the translation of *Κωβηλα*, and consequently is used in the same sense as *slight*, when we say *slight of hand*; and no doubt, by whatever means the *e* has crept in, the words are the same, and are both derived from the verb *sly*.

Strait and streight. Some make a difference between these, using *strait* for *directus*, and *streight* for *arctus*, for which, however, I think, there is no good foundation. Isaiah xl. 3. you have *make streight*, and Matth. vii. 13. what is called *strait* is, v. 14. *strait*.

Stark and starch. It is the property of starch to stiffen linen, and I suspect that to be *stark* or stiff after riding, or other exercise, is the same word with *starch*, or vice versa. V. Dike, *above*.

Stink, and stinch or stench. There can be no difference between these but what arises from pronunciation. V. Dike, *above*. Fairfax, x. 61. xviii. 84. has *stinch*; in the first

of these places the edit. of 1749 has *stench*, *malè*; *stinch* being the old word for *stench*.

Son and sun. The former in Saxon is *sunu*, and the latter was formerly often written *sonna*; so that there is no real difference between the words, though a diversity must needs be useful. The sun is termed *soz* in Hearne, Cur. Disc. p. 184. and in Willis's Cathedrals, ii. p. 9. the name of *Monson* is thus given.

Lunam cum Phœbo jungito, nomen habes. Vide omnino Baxteri Gloss. p. 36, 145.

See, *sedes*; sea, *mare*. Carleton, p. 58. 73. alibi, writes the first *sea*, as do Cavendish and Speed. In Ames, p. 8. *sea* is written *see*; as also in Hall, Skelton, and Sir Thomas More, and in the two latter we have *se*. The sea is in fact *aquarum sedes*, or place, as it is expressed Gen. i. 9.

Sup and soup. Bishop Wilkins, On the Moon, p. 238, uses *soop*, for *sup*, whence it should seem that a *soop*, a liquid to be supped, is the same as *sup*, both from French *soup*.

Spill and spoil. The first is used for the latter in Kent; hence "better one house fill'd than two spill'd:" Ray, p. 47. *Spilling* is now confined to liquids, but still what is shed is effectually *spoiled*.

Sound and swoon. *Sound* occurs for *swoon* in Skelton, and I think is the same word; thus, to *swoon*, imperfect *swooned*, and, *d* inserted *euphoniæ gratia*, swooned; after which the present, swoond or sound, would soon be formed. Thus from drown, drowned, drown'd, comes the northern word to drown'd.

Suet and sweat. As what we copiously perspire passes under the name of sweat, and is of a greasy unctuous nature, one has reason to think it the same word with *suet*, though this is a dissyllable.

Stew-pan. V. Pound.

Scot, as Romescot, scot and lot. Shor, proportion of a payment. Sheet of lead, copper, &c. All these are the Saxon *sceat*.

Say and saw. As say is a substantive as well as a verb, it is obvious to imagine that *saw*, in the sense of a *saying* or proverb, may be the same word.

Shell and shale. These appear to be the French *ecaille*.

Springe and spring. No difference probably here, since the *springes* for woodcocks (Pennant 2d Tour, p. 32.) operate, I presume, by a *spring*.

Story and History differ only a little in sense.

*Then*, adverb of time. *Than* a particle used in compari-

son. In Latin *quam*. The distinction of these is doubtless extremely useful, as tending to facilitate the sense of an author to a reader. The distinction, however, is but of late, since in our older writers *then* is promiscuously used for *than*, which shews it to be originally the same word. I need not quote for this.

This and thus. *This* was formerly used for *thus*, as Skelton, p. 13, 115, alibi. Hall in Rich. III. f. 28, 29. Sir Tho. More, p. 3. Which shews, that though it may be useful that a distinction should be made between these words, yet originally they were the same.

Troth and Truth both have place in our dictionaries, but seem to be the same, from Saxon, *treoth*, or *treotha*.

Trow and trough. A swine-trow is called in the north a swine-trough: the difference consists in pronunciation, *gh*, being sometimes quiescent, and sometimes having the power of *ff*.

Tend is the tail or final syllable of *attend*, and means the same; it is spoken *tent* in the north, where it signifies to *hinder* or *prevent*, by watching, and observing; so that it is the same word as *tend*, for which see Dr. Johnson. V. Vend.

Task and tax. *Task* is an imposition as *tax* is. Rossus, p. 55. explains *tallagium* by *task*; whence they appear to be the same.

Tone and tune. *Ton* is French for *tune*; they are consequently the same words, Life of Lord Clarendon, p. 64, 65.

Treacle and theriacal. From *θηρ* a beast, or venomous beast, comes *θηριακος* and theriacal, a medicine to expel poison, which since has been corrupted into *treacle*. This at present generally signifies *molasses*, but in the apothecary's shop it still retains its primitive sense, as in *Venice-treacle*.

Unloose and loose. First has the sense of the second. Mark i. 7. Luke iii. 16. John i. 27. Some have questioned the propriety of this, the prefix *un* seeming to carry an opposite sense to what the simple word bears, as in *tying* and *untying*, *drawing* and *undrawing*, &c. but *un* in the present case is a mere pleonasm; *on* among the Saxons, to which *un* is here equivalent, being often used epitiatively, or rather superfluously and without, any intention of altering the meaning of the word.

Vend and vent. Both are in Johnson, but are unquestionably the same. V. Tend.

Weal and wealth. These are the same words: substan-

tives of the adjective *well*; hence some will say *common-weal*, others *common-wealth*.

Wheen-cat. V. Queen.

I am, Sir, yours,

1778, *July, Aug. Sept. and Oct.*

T. Row.

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